Kansas City Public Library

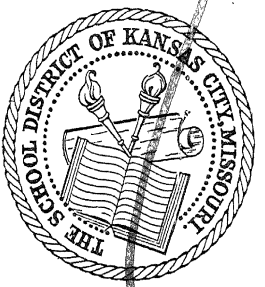
REFERENCE ROOM

Must sign for this.

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THE ROOM

808.5 C88b

Kansas City
Public Library



This Volume is for

REFERENCE USE ONLY

11 20—6m—P


KANSAS CITY, MO. PUBLIC LIBRARY
0 0001 4543938 6

Both Sides

of

30 Public Questions

COMPLETELY DEBATED

(PROS AND CONS)

With By-Laws and Parliamentary Laws
for Conducting Debating Societies
And a List of Interesting Topics for Debates

BY

ASA H. CRAIG

Author of Craig's Common School Question Book
and Other Educational Works

AND

ALICE CRAIG EDGERTON, L.L.M.

Author of Children's Scientific Readers



NOBLE AND NOBLE, *Publishers*

76 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

Copyright, 1897, By
HINDS AND NOBLE

Copyright, 1926, By
NOBLE AND NOBLE

Printed in U. S. A.

PREFACE.

In presenting this volume to the public the author desires to state that he has assumed no authority of his own beyond the mere presentation of the arguments comprising the discussions. Let the volume be considered a series of suggestions from which extended discussions may arise. The outline debates present programmes as it were, but not their elaboration. The essays and orations are to supply the foundation thoughts as aids in the preparation of subjects for school and public use. The questions analyzed are the questions of the day and not the old time-worn topics of the past.

One desires something new, something practical, and something up to date. This new debater will fit into the last three years of this century. It treats of the questions of

the present and of the future; not the dead issues of the past. It discusses

Science of Finance;
Transportation;
Government Control;
Foreign Policies;
Tariff;
Postage;
License;
Social Life,
Immigration;
Revenue;
Suffrage;
Patriotism;
Commerce;
Phases of Political Economy.

It is a book for the living, those in whom are burning the live issues of the day. It contains the sequel of twenty-five years of political study from all standpoints—of the Republican, the Democrat, the Populist, the Bimetallist, the Socialist, the Suffragist; in short, all the factions.

It presents facts, but does not dictate conclusions. It courts investigation of both sides of every question, but does not pass judgment. It seeks to throw light upon all phases of current disputes without betraying the feelings of the partisan. In fact we aim only to induce thought, study, and debate ; to promote, rather than terminate discussion.

CONTENTS.

SECTION		PAGE
I.	How to Organize a Society,	1
II.	Rules Governing Debates,	12
III.	Introductory Observations,	15
IV.	Political Economy,	24
	QUESTIONS FULLY DISCUSSED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE AND THE NEGATIVE.	
V.	Resolved, That the Single Gold Standard Is for the Best Interests of the Country,	28
VI.	Should Cuba Be Annexed to the United States?	61
VII.	Resolved, That the Fear of Punishment Has a Greater Influence on Human Conduct than Hope of Reward,	77
VIII.	Resolved, That the United States should Adopt Penny Postage,	86
IX.	Resolved, That High License Is the Best Means of Checking Intemperance,	94
X.	Should the Government of the United States Own and Control the Railroads?	106
XI.	Ought the United States to have annexed Hawaii?	122
XII.	Is It Advisable for This Government as a Whole or in Part by State to Refer to the Public for Adoption or Rejection, Any or All Bills Passed by Congress or by Our State Legislature (Initiative and Referendum)	127
XIII.	Should the United States Government Build Good Roads to Satisfy the Rapidly Increasing Traffic Requirements in Both the Rural and City Districts?	143
XIV. and XV.	Resolved That Tariff for Revenue Only Is of Greater Benefit to the People of the United States than a Protective Tariff,	160

SECTION		PAGE
XVI.	Resolved, That the Expensive Social Entertainments of the Wealthy Are of More Benefit than Injury to the Country,	172
XVII.	Resolved, That the Hypocrite Is a More Despicable Character than the Liar,	179
XVIII.	Resolved, That the Government of the United States should Own and Control the Telephone and Telegraph Systems,	185
XIX.	Resolved, That the Average Young Man of To-day Has Greater Opportunities to make Life a Success Financially than His Forefathers,	199
XX.	Is Immigration Detrimental to the United States?	206
XXI.	Are our Large Department Stores an Injury to the Country?	219
XXII.	Should Greenbacks Be Retired and the Government Go Out of Its Present System of Banking?	232
XXIII.	Resolved, That Our Present System of Taxation is the Best that Can Be Devised,	250
XXIV.	Should the President of the United States Be Elected by a Direct Vote of the People?	258
XXV.	Is it Good Policy for the Government of the United States to place a Tariff on Sugar?	266
XXVI.	Resolved, That It Is Not Good Policy for the Government of the United States to Establish a System of Postal Savings,	286

QUESTIONS OUTLINED.

XXVII.	Resolved, That It Is for the Best Interests of All the People for the Government to Own and Control the Coal Mines,	318
XXVIII.	Resolved, That Trusts and Monopolies Are a Positive Injury to the People Financially,	327

XXIX. Resolved, That Cities should Own and Control All the Public Franchises Now Conferred upon Corporations, . . . 337
XXX. Resolved, That Education as It Is Now Thrust upon the Youth of America Is Dangerous to Health and Good Government, ... 351
XXXI. Resolved, That National Banks should Be Abolished, ... 358
XXXII. Resolved, That Bimetallism and Not Protection is the Secret of Future Prosperity, 366

SUBJECTS FOR DEBATE

XXXIII. Two Hundred and Fifty Selected Topics for Discussion, ... 376

ADDRESSES FOR SALUTATORY, VALEDICTORY, AND OTHER OCCASIONS.

XXXIV. Oration—Decoration Day, ... 401
XXXV. Essay—February 22, ... 407
XXXVI. Salutatory—Life, ... 420
XXXVII. Oration—Fourth of July, ... 426
XXXVIII. Valedictory 434
XXXIX. Address—Christmas Eve, ... 440
XL. A Temperance Address—The Nickel Behind the Bar 444
XLI. Essay—Coast Defenses 450

APPENDIX.

QUESTIONS FULLY DISCUSSED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE AND THE NEGATIVE

I. The Philippine Islands, ... 462
II. Our Standing Army, ... 486
III. Trusts, ... 504
IV. Navigation *vs.* Railways 522

QUESTIONS OUTLINED

SECTION		PAGE
V.	Capital *vs.* Labor	535
VI.	College Education	544
VII.	Labor Disputes	547
VIII.	Minimum Wage	551
IX.	Secret Fraternities	554
X.	Motion Pictures	557
XI.	Foreign Languages	559
XII.	Vehicle Tax	561

PROS AND CONS.

SECTION I.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A SOCIETY.

In the organization of a society someone must be the prime mover and take the first steps. He may do this by issuing a call for a meeting at a certain place and time. If the object of the society is one of general importance the attendance will doubtless be sufficiently large to enable the assembly to proceed immediately to construct its platform of principles.

Those who are foremost in the proposed organization should come prepared to submit a formal statement of the purpose of the association and with articles of government to submit to the assembly for ratification; otherwise it would be much better to appoint a committee to draft a set of rules to be reported at a subsequent or "adjourned" meeting.

The articles of government should receive careful study and serious thought, and should embody all the purposes or designs sought to be accomplished by organizing a formal body.

Do not draw up the articles in haste, resulting in the adoption of ill-advised, because ill-prepared, rules. It is better to take the time to have your first work well done.

The following suggestions may serve as a useful guide. They embody the principles of parliamentary government, and are worthy of consideration.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEBATING CLUB

OF

DANSVILLE, NEW YORK.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, It is necessary, in order to fit ourselves for the varied duties of life, to cultivate a correct mode of speaking, and to qualify ourselves by practice to express our opinions in public in a correct manner; therefore we do constitute ourselves the Young People's Debating Club, and have adopted for our government the following Constitution, By-Laws, Rules, and Regulations.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

This Club shall be known as the Young People's Debating Club of Dansville, New York.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECTS.

The objects of this Club shall be the mental improvement of all connected with it, in the art of debating, in the field of social advancement, and in science, history, literature, and general culture. All questions shall be excluded which verge on immorality, on sectarianism, or on politics, except as essential to the discussion of a political topic.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person who is honest, upright, and worthy of confidence may be admitted by vote of the Club as prescribed in the By-Laws.

ARTICLE IV.

OFFICERS.

The officers of this Club shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

ARTICLE V.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Club ; to enforce a due observance of the Constitution, By-Laws, Rules, and Regulations ; to decide all questions of order ; to offer for consideration all motions regularly made ; to apportion duties two weeks in advance ; to call all special meetings ; appoint all committees not otherwise provided for, and to perform such other duties as his office may require. He shall make no motion or amendment, nor vote on any question or motion, unless the Club be equally divided, when he shall give the casting vote.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Vice President to preside in the absence of the President and perform the duties of that office.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep the records of the Club ; notify candidates of their election ; register the names of the members ; issue all notices required, and perform all other duties pertaining to his office as may be required of him by the Club. He shall receive all moneys of the Club and turn the same over to the Treasurer and take his receipt therefor.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to receive all moneys of the Club and keep a written statement thereof, and he shall make no payments without a written order from the President, countersigned by the Secretary.

ARTICLE VI.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

All elections of officers shall be by ballot. A majority of all the votes cast shall constitute a choice. The term

of office shall be six months, or until a successor, duly elected, shall assume the office.

ARTICLE VII.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

Every proposed alteration, amendment, or addition to this Constitution and the By-Laws hereunto annexed, must be handed to the President in writing, who shall publish the same to the Club, and at the next regular meeting it may be adopted by a two-thirds vote of all the members present.

ARTICLE VIII.

SUSPENSION OF BY-LAWS.

A By-Law may be suspended, in case of emergency, by unanimous consent.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. This Club shall hold its meetings, unless otherwise ordered, on Saturday evening of each week.

SEC. 2. Seven members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum.

SEC. 3. At the request of seven members the President shall call a special meeting of the Club. Business transacted at the special meeting shall be only that which relates to the good of the Club. No bills shall be allowed nor shall new members be admitted at any special meeting.

ARTICLE II.

INAUGURATION OF OFFICERS.

At the inauguration of each officer, he shall be required to make the following affirmation :

"I do hereby solemnly promise that I will faithfully discharge the duties of my office to the best of my knowledge and ability."

ARTICLE III.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The election of members shall be by ballot; two dissenting ballots shall reject. A candidate so "black-balled" is disqualified from again presenting his name within six months.

ARTICLE IV.

INITIATION OF MEMBERS.

The following affirmation shall be required of each person becoming a member :

"I do hereby solemnly promise that I will faithfully conform to all the Laws, Rules, and Regulations set down in the Constitution of this Club, and do further declare that I entertain no ill-will toward any member."

ARTICLE V.

TAXATION.

There shall be no initiation fee or dues, but as money is needed to meet necessary expenses it shall be voted and a tax imposed upon each member.

ARTICLE VI.

SUSPENSIONS.

Suspensions may be voted by two-thirds of all members present at any regular meeting. Suspension may be enforced for disorderly conduct, refusal to pay tax, or any gross misdemeanor. Members suspended may be restored to membership by two-thirds of members present at any regular meeting.

ARTICLE VII.

RULES OF ORDER.

If controversies occur not explained in these rules, the general parliamentary law will be a guide for the presiding officer.

ARTICLE VIII.

FOR THE GOOD OF THE CLUB.

If no debates are presented at any meeting, the presiding officer may submit special questions for consideration and request a discussion of them. For example :

1. Have you lately met with anything calculated to interest or improve the Club, either in History, Travels, the Sciences, the Arts, or other branches of useful knowledge ?

2. Do you know any amusing story proper to relate in conversation ?

3. Have you any questions for debate to present for the consideration of the Club?

ARTICLE IX.

AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to these By-Laws may be made after the manner prescribed in Article VII. of the Constitution.

RULES OF ORDER.

1. The President, or in his absence the Vice President, shall take the Chair at the hour of meeting agreed upon by previous vote of the Club.

2. The President shall be privileged to take the floor in debate upon any subject under discussion, after calling to the chair the Vice President, or any other member willing.

3. After the meeting has been called to order, each member shall be seated and shall not speak or otherwise interrupt the proceedings without the permission of the presiding officer, to be obtained by addressing him thus : Mr. Chairman ; or, Mr. President.

4. No member shall speak to any motion more than twice, without the permission of the Club.

5. When two or more members rise at the same time, the President shall name, as the person to speak, that one who in his judgment is first entitled to the floor.

6. When a member is called to order by the President, or any other member, he shall at once resume his seat pending the decision on the point of order raised ; and every question of order shall be decided by the President, subject to appeal to the sense of the meeting.

7. No motion shall be debatable until it has been duly seconded.

8. Appeals, and motions to reconsider, or to adjourn, are not debatable.

9. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received, except to lay on the table, to postpone, to commit, or to amend.

10. No member shall interrupt another while speaking, except to call to order, as prescribed in Rule 6 ; or, with the permission of the member speaking, to ask a question relevant to the subject.

11. A motion to adjourn shall always be in order, except when another motion is being voted upon; provided the member moving adjournment has properly secured the floor.

12. When a motion shall be made and seconded, the mover thereof may be called upon by the President, or any member, to reduce the same to writing, and hand it to the table, from which it shall be read by the secretary, and only then becomes open for debate.

13. The mover of a motion shall be at liberty to accept an amendment thereto, but if an amendment be offered and not accepted, yet duly seconded, the Club shall pass upon it before voting upon the original motion.

14. The form used by the presiding officer in putting a motion is : "*Are you now ready for the question?*" If debates are ended he will continue by saying : "*As many as are of the opinion that,*" repeating the words of the question, "*say Aye; as many as are of a different opinion, say No.*" If it has been proposed to amend the question the amendment shall be acted upon first, and if carried, the presiding officer shall then put the question as amended.

15. Any member may criticise essays or recitations

delivered before the Club, provided he occupy not more than five minutes.

16. When a motion to adjourn is carried, no member shall leave his seat until the President shall have left his chair. *

17. When a motion has been made and decided it shall be in order at any time within two weeks for any member, except such as have voted in the minority, to move the reconsideration thereof.

18. Every officer, at the end of his term of service, shall deliver to his successor any moneys, papers, documents, books, or records under his charge and belonging to the club.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The following order of business will cover the necessities of the Club and should be followed with regularity, subject to such modification as circumstances may make expedient:

1. Call to order, by the President.
2. Calling of the roll, by the Secretary.
3. Reading minutes of previous meeting, by the Secretary.
4. Proposals for membership.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Balloting for candidates.
7. Reports of standing committees.

* The object of this rule is to induce order and discipline. Perfect decorum should mark the closing of a meeting. It also induces respect for all the rules and regulations, as embodied in the official head of the club—an essential to success.

8. Secretary's report.
9. Treasurer's report.
10. Initiation of candidates.
11. Unfinished business.
12. Readings for the evening.
13. Recitations for the evening.
14. Debate.
15. New business.
16. Adjournment.

It is the part of the President to announce the order of business, each subject in its proper turn.

FRATERNAL COURTESY.

To the end that we may cultivate and preserve within our circle that mutual respect and fraternal feeling that will conduce to our greatest success, it is earnestly enjoined upon the members of the Club to treat one another always with due courtesy, and to conduct their discussions with candor, but in a spirit of moderation and friendly consideration. Especially should personalities and sarcastic allusions, likely to offend the feelings of a fellow-member, be sedulously avoided.

SECTION II.

RULES GOVERNING DEBATES.

I. It is customary in debates for the first affirmative speaker to lay out the principles of the question and, instead of digging into the real argument, to reserve it for the summing up, or, as it is termed, the closing speech, an opportunity for which is granted the first speaker. To many, this mode of procedure would indicate that the affirmative speaker is given an advantage, which really is not the case if his opening speech is confined to setting forth the question for debate.

II. In many schools it is becoming the practice to have only four speakers, two affirmative and two negative, and no closing speech by the one who opens. In most cases this plan is preferable to the old established usage, as the first speaker enters into the debate from the very opening and does his best. To inexperienced speakers this plan gives the better satisfaction, and it is made permissible for their benefit.

III. A certain length of time should be allotted to each speaker and strictly adhered to.

IV. Decorum at all times should be observed. If the question is worthy of debate, then the occasion deserves decorous behavior.

V. The presiding officer should insist upon a strict adherence to parliamentary practice.

VI. It is not practice in the art of debating that is the all-important desideratum, but orderliness, attentiveness, the habit of following with considerate and thoughtful respect the statements of others, and, in general, a genial compliance with polite usage. All these have their important place.

VII. A general can control his army only through obedience. A successful debating club can exist only by observing the rules and regulations.

VIII. As the student obtains practice he should endeavor to carry in his mind an outline of his argument and to present it without committing to memory. Facility in this will come to him much more readily than he may anticipate.

IX. Do not write out and commit to memory beyond what seems absolutely neces-

sary. Cut loose as much as possible from the written or memorized word.

X. Study your outline and deliver each particular just as though it were a story.

XI. Commit to memory your outlines if you wish, or you may retain a synopsis upon a card in your hand for reference.

XII. Do not attempt to speak unless you have made some study of the question.

XIII. The purpose of debate being to convince others of the truth of one's belief, the speaker should set out to secure the confidence of his hearers, and this may be accomplished best by the speaker who displays full command of his subject, supplemented by that confidence in himself that comes of frequent practice in public speaking.

XIV. Facility in impromptu speaking upon any question, whenever called upon, is a valuable accomplishment, to acquire which one can hardly expend too much time and effort in patient study and persistent practice.

SECTION III.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

In debating, as in any public speaking, success does not wholly depend upon the argument itself. The fact is, much depends upon *how* it is delivered. A judge may have the power to overcome his prejudice against an advocate's unfavorable manner of presenting a subject, and base his judgment upon the words expressed, but an audience is not capable of thus closely discerning. They respond to the personality of the orator, to his manner, to his spirit, as well as to his argument. They must feel the speaker's position in order to appreciate his view of the question. It is said that in the days of the greatness of Rome a law was passed to prevent pleading in a dramatic manner when before a jury. The art of delivery was so wonderfully studied that justice was often a secondary consideration, and to prevent undue influence all gestures were prohibited.

Success may depend upon three important particulars:

ELOCUTION.
GRACE.
EFFECT.

By elocution we mean correct articulation, good rhetoric, and a certain modulation of the voice.

By grace, that ease of motion and that facility and appropriateness of gesture which attract and inspire.

By effect, an impression of sincerity through which the speaker gains the confidence of his hearers; and a certain magnetism by which he sways them to his view.

Without the confidence of his hearers the speaker's utterances will fall without effect. Without grace of body he may fail to enlist their admiration, and without an engaging delivery his words may fall meaningless upon listless ears.

To become an effective speaker will require study and practice.

To frame an infallible code of rules to govern the debater or speaker on every imaginable occasion were an impossibility.

But we can present valuable suggestions and ask a careful study of them. The following will be of benefit to anyone desirous of acquiring facility in the art of public speaking:

1. Use simple language.

2. Do not attempt to use words not in common, every-day use.

3. Unwieldy words, being easily misinterpreted, loosen the speaker's hold upon his audience.

4. Be polite in all replies.*

5. A gentlemanly manner is of itself an argument half won.

6. Insinuations are to be deplored. They are apt to excite the hostility of fair-minded listeners.

7. Under no circumstances use language

* The author was in a courtroom once when a prominent lady was on the witness stand, and in cross-examination the lawyer tried to bewilder the witness by referring to the death of her mother. The sudden and unexpected mention of this misfortune so affected her that she could not speak. The muscles of her throat were for the time paralyzed. The lawyer kept insisting upon a reply when it was evident she could say nothing. What was the effect upon the jury? It was evident they were secretly enraged by the base treatment to which the witness was subjected and that she had their full sympathy and respect. The lawyer had failed of his object through ignoring the rules of courtesy.

that would not be appropriate in a lady's presence.

8. To attempt to win by browbeating is more than likely to lose your case by offending your hearers' sense of fair play.

9. Do not attempt to discuss a question with which you are not more or less familiar. Better remain silent than speak without some definite knowledge. Remember the adage, "A little learning is a dangerous thing."

10. Obstinacy, ignorance, and vanity usually go together.

11. Every hollow pretense, when once fairly detected, is justly treated as an act of imposition. "You may fool all the people a part of the time, a part of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time."

12. The suspicion of insincerity in a public speaker is absolutely fatal to success. Not only must a speaker seem sincere but he must really be so.

13. There is power in a courteous manner, for it moves the heart and tends to counteract the impressions made by an adversary.

14. There is force in fairness, for it implies a love of truth.

15. Allow to the opposite side whatever is its due, but array against its weak points your clearest, strongest arguments.

16. Never hope to overthrow a sound argument of an opponent by mere disdain, or by perverting it, or by seeking to undervalue its force. Such tactics will weaken your hold upon the respect of your hearers.

17. In referring to history, geography, statistics, or other facts obtained from books, be accurate. Minute accuracy begets confidence. It lends to the speaker the charm of reliability.

18. Do not depend wholly upon oratory to carry an argument against acknowledged facts.

19. A very important principle to be observed is to keep the nature of the question prominently in view. Digression is the *ignis fatuus* of discussion.

20. In studying a question, seek to find the good points of the opposition. If you are on the negative side, imagine yourself the affirmative speaker. By anticipating the points of your adversary you will be better qualified to sustain your own argument. To discover the opposing line of attack is to be prepared against sudden surprise.

21. Bestow careful thought upon the general plan of your arguments, and so arrange your points as to have a system of presentation forming, as it were, a chain of evidence.

22. To be a poor debater at first is not proof that you cannot ultimately succeed. Some of the most celebrated debaters of history were at first woefully weak in oratory, but attained well-deserved eminence by persevering, against all discouragements, in their determination to conquer every obstacle.*

23. It is said that Charles Fox rose "by slow degrees to become the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw." He was so sensible of the advantage of regular and frequent practice that he may be said to have turned the House of Commons into a sort of debating club for his own personal benefit.

24. The value of debating societies will depend largely upon the interest and skill dis-

*It is said that Demosthenes was afflicted with an impediment in his speech (stuttering), but that he succeeded in conquering this failing by keeping pebbles in his mouth when speaking.

A noted lawyer used to go into the woods and argue and debate for hours by himself. Though often followed by youngsters, who would creep up to have some fun, he would not be dissuaded from his purpose.

played in their management. Wisely conducted, they may be of great benefit to the members.

25. Good order must prevail in accordance with parliamentary rules.

26. There must be punctuality in attendance.

27. Do not attempt to speak without having anything in particular to say.

28. A glib tongue in an empty head will avail little. Sound will not make up for lack of sense.

29. If you desire to speak extemporaneously, first divide your subject into heads and write them down in the order you desire to discuss them. Commit them to memory and then discuss each head orally, if you have an opportunity. Familiarize yourself with these sections as you would with the parts of a story, so that you may acquit yourself with that ease and confidence of manner with which one tells a story.

30. Extemporaneous speaking may, however, induce idleness and carelessness in the matter of literary composition, which must be carefully avoided.

31. Many public speakers write down their speeches and then commit them to memory.

32. The greater a speaker's reputation, the more careful he is apt to be to perfect his speeches in advance.*

33. Many people are fluent talkers in the drawing room but cannot speak to advantage before an audience, through lack of self-confidence.

34. Nervousness can be overcome and confidence obtained by care in preparation and persistent practice in addressing audiences.

35. In closing these instructions let it be remembered that the following hints are timely:

a. Always endeavor to gain the good will of your audience.

b. Use wit and humor now and then, if the occasion will permit and if you can do so with ease and effect.

c. Employ graceful gestures, and in your postures and attitudes endeavor to display an easy naturalness, being careful not to overdo.

d. Have all your faculties well in hand.

e. Keep your temper in good control.

f. Be modest.

*It is said of Pericles that "such was his solicitude when he had to speak in public, that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods that not a word unsuitable to the occasion might escape him unawares."

"All his arguments smelled of the lamp," was a remark made of a prominent orator.

g. Exercise benevolence and forbearance.

h. Watch your audience so as to discern the things most likely to hold the attention and win approval.

i. Do not speak too loud.

j. When you get through, stop.

SECTION IV.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

THE subject of Political Economy is one that is attracting widespread study, and we find our land is full of political economists who propose to tell us the true secrets of government. Their instructions are based largely upon their individual views of what is and what ought to be. To accept these lessons without analyzing the positions of the author, is accepting another man's theory without bringing into play the gifts which God has given you. You have no right to accept any political doctrine without weighing the questions involved. We may rely, perhaps, upon the statements of astronomers and mathematicians because they are based upon actual demonstrations, but the man who propounds a theory of political economy is not necessarily infallible. It is simply his opinion, and neither greatness of character nor eminence of station is proof of

correctness. All theories are, as it were, lotteries. The banker expounds his theories from the standpoint of a banker; the manufacturer from that of his business; the protectionist and free-trader from their preconceived relations, the miner from his; the artisan from his, and the farmer from the standpoint of the farmer. We all are apt to advocate that line of policy that is of most account to us. One section of the country may be interested in a measure that is detrimental to another section, and yet it cannot be said, truthfully, that one is less loyal than the other. It is an impossibility to enact general legislation for the special benefit of all, and no political economist can lay down a perfect form of government.

The author would earnestly advise individual thought on every question brought before the American people. It is an age of strife and preferment, of large expenditures and small economies, of profit and loss, of wealth and poverty, of force and surrender, of ambition and defeat. We are making rapid progress in every line of invention; in the arts, in the distribution of food and manufactures, in educational systems; and what was

for the best interests of people yesterday may not meet the requirements of to-morrow. We will soon have outgrown the traditions of the past and will awaken to a new order of things. Discoveries and inventions have developed new exigencies, necessitating new lines of action based upon new principles of economy. We may no longer govern ourselves by what has been, but by what is, and what will be, and he who attempts to conform, without adaptation, to the old economy will become the old fogy of the day.

Do not depend too much upon the brains of others. Think for yourself, and accept theories only as they command your own assent. If the question be a political one, view it from all sides, and when you have planted your feet upon your platform let it be one of your own hewing. But do not attempt to demolish the platform of another until you have effectual batteries in the form of arguments of your own construction.

This book teems with the vital questions of to-day. They are outlined from the standpoint of the seeker after truth and not from any vantage-ground of personal bias. They are questions that are not to be settled by

ridicule or sarcasm. They must be settled by reason, and experience, and education. They are not of recent origin, but have slowly emerged out of many yesterdays, until now they assume proportions that command attention. You are called upon to study them, to discuss them, and to act upon them. ARE YOU READY?

SECTION V.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the single gold standard is for the best interests of the country.

NOTE.—In the discussion of this question we have suggested many points for expansion. We leave it to the student to analyze them, and set them forth in the form of appropriate arguments. It is one of the leading questions of the day, if not the one of most account at this time, and will admit of a vast amount of study. In deciding it as a question no thought should be entertained as to how the people voted in 1896, or who was elected, but the decision should be based upon the real arguments given. This is one of the objects of debate: To school one's self in discussing a principle opposite one's belief. It gives a wider range of thought, and the mind becomes more fertile, freer to respond to circumstances, and more capable of grasping the various conditions of life. Train yourself to one side only, and you become narrow-minded in your views, selfish in your demands, and irritable under opposition.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Much has been said during the campaign of 1896 for and against this

proposition, but as it still remains a living question, it is but reasonable to present our reasons for believing that under existing conditions it would be against our best interests to adopt any other system than the one recognizing the gold standard as the sole measure of value.

II. Underlying every branch of knowledge there are principles that cannot be questioned. These principles are self-evident, and are known as axioms, or self-evident truths. In the study of finance certain facts present themselves as axioms.

III. We are now established on a gold basis.

IV. All business is based upon the value of a gold dollar.

V. The value of a gold dollar does not depend upon legislation.

VI. The gold dollar is intrinsically worth the same in coin as in bullion.

VII. All money of the enlightened world has its value based upon the value of gold.

VIII. Gold is always and everywhere current, whether as bullion or as coin.

IX. All values must have something for their measure.

X. Gold never fluctuates appreciably in value.

XI. The miner's ounce is worth the same to-day as to-morrow.

XII. For convenience we accept paper, silver, or commodities, but always upon the basis of convertibility into gold coin or its equivalent.

XIII. We accept silver because the government maintains the parity of the two metals.

XIV. Money must have a value within itself, or it must be so arranged as to command value.

XV. Two things cannot be equal unless they represent equal values.

XVI. If gold is worth 100 cents and silver 53 cents there cannot be an equality.

XVII. The acceptability of a silver dollar resides in the confidence we have in it that it will pass current.

XVIII. Destroy this confidence and it will cease to pass current.

XIX. If a man is generally supposed to be "worth money," his note is accepted in this confidence.

XX. If a man is known to be without

money, or its equivalent, his note goes begging through lack of confidence.

XXI. A bank pays to-day and all is satisfactory, but start a report that something is wrong, and a run is precipitated.

XXII. A government accepts exchange on a gold basis to-day, and its obligations are at par.

XXIII. A government pays to-morrow in a currency that is not positively redeemable in gold. That currency cannot be maintained at its face value, but only at the difference between its face value and the cost of redemption.

XXIV. If a currency is at 47 cents discount to convert into gold, then that currency cannot be worth more than 53 cents as its market value.

XXV. It is an infallible law that the cheaper currency drives out the dearer.

XXVI. When gold is worth 100 cents and silver 53 cents, and each coin stands on its own basis, the value of each is what it will bring in the markets of the world.

XXVII. The trade dollar is worth its bullion value.

XXVIII. England is the great creditor

nation of the world, and all values are based on a gold standard in London.

XXIX. Change values, and you create confusion, produce panics, and entail repudiation.

XXX. To promise to pay in full value to-day and refuse to-morrow is repudiation.

XXXI. The debts of our people are payable in gold, or its equivalent.

XXXII. Capital is money.

XXXIII. Money is value, or a representative of value.

XXXIV. Borrow value, and you must return value.

XXXV. Agitate values, and capital loses confidence.

XXXVI. Money will hide if business is stormy.

XXXVII. Business, or commerce, continues only upon the basis of general honesty.

XXXVIII. Honest money will always be in demand.

XXXIX. Dishonest money is always in disfavor.

XL. Establish free coinage of silver to-day, and to-morrow our treasury reserve will be gone

XLI. Withdraw our treasury reserve, and we suspend specie payments.

XLII. Suspend specie payments, and all money is either thrown upon its own intrinsic value, or its value of redemption in gold.

XLIII. Greenbacks during the War were at a discount according to their convertibility.

XLIV. Confederate scrip became worthless, because there was no certain value behind it.

XLV. Continental money in the early days following the Revolution fell to nothing because the government was unable to redeem it.

XLVI. Bonds, stocks, mortgages, by the hundreds of millions are held by European capitalists. Disturb the redemption value, and they will immediately drug the market and bring ruin to all the industries involved.

XLVII. Intrinsic value is not the creature of legislation.

XLVIII. We stamp coin as a proof of its weight and fineness as metal.

XLIX. Stamp a ten-dollar gold piece five dollars and it will pass for five dollars until it is discovered to be overweight; then it will fetch its real value.

L. Stamp a five-dollar gold piece ten dol-

lars, and the deception will last only for a few transfers if at all.

LI. Gold is the money of the world.

LII. Commerce is the business of all countries.

LIII. Values in commerce must be determined by some unit of measure.

LIV. A country cannot measure its values by one standard and expect other countries to accept its measure at a loss.

LV. If we buy of European countries we must pay in their established values.

LVI. There is no such thing as a money of the rich differing from the money of the poor.

LVII. The rich may survive losses through depreciation of the money current, but the poor cannot.

LVIII. If the rich are not prosperous they cannot employ the poor.

LIX. If a 53-cent dollar is the measure of values, this will also and always be the measure of labor.

LX. The merchant may be obliged to take a depreciated dollar, but he will raise the price of his commodities in order to balance any probable loss.

LXI. If there are two standards of value,

business will be in a state of uncertainty and disquiet, and the result will be a lack of confidence, curtailment, and panic.

LXII. Free coinage of silver means a silver basis.

Negative.

NOTE.—These heads may be divided into numerous subdivisions by numbers of other speakers, but the author has only drawn up the form in outline, leaving to the fertile imagination of the student to elaborate as may seem convenient or necessary.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. We will agree with our affirmative brothers that much has been said pro and con during this recent campaign, but they fall into difficulties at the very outset by assuming that a long line of mere statements are self-evident truths, informing us that these truths cannot be denied. It is here we raise the first objection against the argument of our friends of the gold standard.

II. Assertions are not arguments, and this question is to be decided upon argument.

III. It is true that geometry tells us that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line, but to be the shortest route is not, necessarily, to be the best route.

IV. Our gold-standard men launch out on the self-evident axiom that the gold dollar does not depend upon legislation, that it is intrinsically worth just exactly what it is worth as coin.

V. To prove this, we are often told, melt a ten-dollar coin and the gold in it is still worth ten dollars.

VI. Practically we admit that this is true, but let us show the cause. Gold enjoys free coinage. It cannot be worth less for the arts because it is convertible into coin at the pleasure of the holder. For example: The miner stands at the counter of a mint and holds one ounce of pure gold in his hand. Will he take less from the man who buys for the arts than he will from the Mint? No! The price must practically be the same. He certainly will not take less from the man who buys for himself because the great option—free coinage—always stands before him.

VII. One may give more because it is pure gold, but the figure is so imperceptible that we ignore it.

VIII. If the arts will pay more for gold as bullion than as coin, then it will never be coined; and further, if this difference is great,

the coin will be withdrawn from circulation to be reduced to bullion.

IX. No man will take his gold to the Mint if it will fetch more on the market.

X. No man will take less for his gold than he can get at the mints.

XI. Now let us present a fact; we will not call it an axiom or self-evident truth, only a fact: If the market value of gold is more than the coin value, then gold ceases to become money. And again, if the coinage is free, the market value cannot be less than the coin value. But as the market value is not greater than the coin value, there is no fluctuation as to its price.

XII. Gold, as a commodity, cannot be worth more and sustain its money value, for it will flow to the arts. But while it is equal in price there will be no change.

XIII. It is therefore evident, if we close the mints to the free coinage of gold, this intrinsic value we hear so loudly lauded must depend upon the supply and demand in the arts.

XIV. If the markets are at any time overstocked with gold it will drop in value; or if at any time there is a scarcity of the yellow metal, there will be a rise in price.

XV. In fact, under these conditions gold must rise and fall, for there will be nothing to equalize or sustain its price.

XVI. From this we must deduce the statement that free coinage is the equalizer of gold values.

XVII. Now, then, is it not safe to say if we take away the mint value we destroy one-half of its uses among the people, and if one-half of its uses are gone, why not presume that it will depreciate until its bullion value is not over fifty-three cents?

XVIII. By this proof it is clear that the so-called intrinsic value of gold does depend upon legislation, for it is by legislation we establish mints and coins.

XIX. Of course our opponents say we cannot make such a supposition, for gold is a recognized money coin throughout the civilized world. It is true such a thing may never happen, but reverse the existing conditions as to the production of gold and silver, and the result may occur. That is, exhaust the silver mines and open bountiful gold ones, and nations might demonetize gold and use silver as the primary money, or, as it is called, redemption money.

XX. When gold was discovered in California and Australia, some countries did demonetize gold and others were discussing it. So it is not impossible to presume such a contingency.

XXI. Again, let me impress this fact: If gold is ever demonetized, its intrinsic value must depend upon supply and demand, just the same as any commodity.

XXII. Under such conditions it is priced the same as wheat, corn, pork, hay, or grain. It will depend upon the arts for its value.

XXIII. Gold has but little use except for money and for ornaments, and should it be demonetized, it would scarcely be esteemed a precious metal.

XXIV. It is a common assertion to say money is gold. While gold may be money by legislation, it is not money until it receives its stamp. This is probably truer in the analysis of silver than gold. At the present time silver is both money and a commodity.

XXV. With the government stamp and fiat it is money, without the fiat it is bullion.

XXVI. A fiat is a decree by constituted authority.

XXVII. The law declaring a deed a lawful

instrument is a fiat as to the deed. In fact, any law is the government's fiat, and any legal-tender money is fiat money.

XXVIII. A bank issue, or what is called a banknote, is not fiat unless it is a legal tender.

XXIX. Such money is a substitute, and through confidence or credit is accepted as money and will pass current in the transaction of business.

XXX. In common terms we call all forms of currency money.

XXXI. If money depends upon legislation, then the greatest freedom granted to that money must be its source of greatest value.

XXXII. The value of money depends upon its availability in the transaction of business.

XXXIII. Free coinage of gold or silver must represent equal values given to each, and they no longer represent different bullion values; for no man will take less for bullion when, as has been explained before with gold, he can deposit it in the Mint and receive a legal tender for 100 cents on the dollar.

XXXIV. Bullion value should immediately rise to the coinage value and depreciation and fluctuation cease.

XXXV. A silver dollar, as at the present time, would not depend upon a gold dollar for its value, but upon its power to be used as money, the power of its fiat.

XXXVI. The government is not an individual, but the representative of all the people.

XXXVII. If the government should declare, by enactment, for free coinage of silver, then the values of its bullion and its coin would become equal.

XXXVIII. Depreciation or fluctuation of silver may be due to government legislation. By the act of 1873 silver became a commodity, to be bought and sold according to supply and demand in the arts.

XXXIX. In 1878 the Bland-Allison bill only required the purchase of so much silver at its market price. It did not accomplish free coinage. It only made an extra demand in the markets.

XL. The same is true of the Sherman bill of 1890, providing for the purchase of bullion and the issue of silver certificates therefor.

XLI. Both bills made silver a commodity subject wholly to supply and demand.

XLII. With free coinage the law of sup-

ply and demand ceases to govern the price. It becomes optional with the holder of the bullion whether he shall sell it in the market or convert it into coin. He takes no less than the coin value and the market is no longer a factor; coin value and bullion value become equal. So much for the self-evident truth of our opponents that two things cannot be equal unless they represent equal values.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. The speakers on the negative side have advanced very little by way of arguments to rebut our contention. They seem to apologize for the fall of the price of silver, and their whole conclusion appears to be that if things had been so and so, the result would have been thus and thus.

II. The question is: "Resolved, that a single gold standard is for the best interests of the country." Now, Mr. Chairman, they have uttered scarcely one syllable of proof that it is not so. Their whole argument premises the free coinage of silver, not as a benefit to the government or the people, but as an arrangement that by some unexplained

virtue will establish an equality between the bullion value and the coin value of *silver*. To this we do not demur. We simply allow them to assume that it is so; but we deny that this value, whatever it may be, of *silver* could be thus made to equal that of gold.

III. That the coin value and bullion value will meet is undoubtedly true, but the question is, Where will they meet? Is it not a reasonable assertion to make, that for a time, at least, the meeting place will be between two certain points? The value of silver as coin on the basis of the gold standard must fall, while the bullion value, according to the law of supply and demand, will go up, and the 53-cent dollar may become a 73-cent dollar, or even an 80-cent dollar, but that it can rise to 100 cents is positively impossible.

IV. And again this rise in the price of silver bullion will stimulate the mines to increased activity, new supplies will be produced, and, as the stock of metal increases, the price must fall.

V. We cannot maintain two standards and do business. It must either be a gold basis or a silver basis, as the cheaper money always drives out the dearer. Then we must fall to

a silver basis, or, in other words, become a silver-standard country.

VI. Where there is free coinage of silver the measure of value becomes that of silver in internal commerce, but it is gold in all foreign transactions.

VII. To prove this we will cite you Mexico, the southern republics, and China and Japan. Those countries are transacting their domestic business with silver, but in foreign transactions the silver coin is appraised only at its bullion value, reckoned in gold, or, in other words, it is gold that determines the prices.

VIII. Is it better to have two standards of value than one? As the silver fluctuates the prices of all commodities must fluctuate, resulting in a continual uneasiness in the business world; producing a state of unrest, disquiet, and that dreadful uncertainty that undermines confidence and credit.

IX. Capital will make contracts in gold, and in spite of the law and of all pretensions, the gold standard will be the power behind the throne.

X. Is it, then, not for the best interests to maintain a standard that will preserve confi-

dence and establish values upon a basis of security to all?

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. I am glad our opponents have raised the question that we have cited but little proof to demonstrate that the single gold standard is not the best, for in their presentation they adduce simply a series of statements without any definite proofs that no other system can be superior. As previously stated they assume that their one standard is the best, and they quote their so-called axioms without regard to the fitness of time, place, or other conditions, and without positive proof on any point.

II. It is no argument to state that the silver dollar is worth only 53 cents because, if the stamp is destroyed, its bullion value will be only 53 cents.

III. The fact is, it *is* worth a dollar, and while its legal-tender quality is retained must always be worth its face.

IV. Remove its legal tender quality and you destroy its power as money, and it becomes a commodity and will be bought and

sold as such. But while it is retained as money and will pay taxes, duties, or any other dues to the government or to individuals, it can never have less than its face value.

V. If there are no defects in the debt-paying qualities of a legal tender, there can be no difference in values.

VI. Money is to business what blood is to the body.

VII. If there is a small or a sluggish supply of blood, the body is poorly nourished and the system is not properly sustained.

VIII. If the currency of a nation is short in volume, there is a lack of circulation and business is not prosperous.

IX. If we can add to the volume of currency we add power to the driving-wheels of commerce, we stimulate trade, develop industries, and set in motion an army of idle men who now lack work.

X. Employ labor, and in turn the army of laborers invest their earnings in the necessaries of life and all lines of trade are benefited.

XI. Free coinage of silver means renewed activity in the entire West. Mines will be opened, men employed, cities restored to life.

and its influence will be felt beyond its own borders, to all parts where intercourse extends. In fact, make one section of the country prosperous and all sections must feel the influence and join in promoting the prosperity of all.

XII. The citation of Mexico, China, Japan, and the southern republics, as doing business on a silver basis, is not relevant to the real question at issue. Really their present condition indicates that, as between the two standards, they are thriving far better on the silver standard than they could on the gold.

XIII. This is evidenced by the rapidly increasing establishment of new businesses in those countries and the constant employment of their people. Mexico is developing in a wonderful manner, while the United States is practically at a standstill. Japan is astonishing the world and China is doing wonders. The southern republics are taking advantage of the situation, and to their countries the silver basis is a blessing.

XIV. At this time a change to the gold standard would paralyze every form of business in Mexico, China, and Japan. Efforts are being made to induce Mexico to adopt the gold standard, but it declines in most

emphatic terms. But we do not propose in the United States to adopt a silver standard, although, as between the two, experience proves it to be the better in the countries named, and it might prove so here.

XV. Our proposition is to adopt the free and unlimited coinage of both metals, and thus accomplish what is admittedly the desire of every patriotic citizen, namely

To increase our volume of money.
To build up the West.
To give encouragement to the farmer.
To reduce the rate of interest.
To make us independent of the demands of Wall Street and its allies.
To prohibit a discrimination of legal tenders.
To make all money legal tender in every transaction.
To prevent hoarding by removing the opportunities for so doing.

Affirmative.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—I. I am glad the last speaker reminded us that the blood is the medium of circulation, upon which the health and vigor of the body depend. Let me add that that blood must be pure.

II. Impure blood cannot benefit.

III. Applying the metaphor to the subject in hand, any impurity in the financial circulating medium induces disease and invites disaster.

IV. Far better that we retain normal conditions than inject into the veins of trade any element of uncertainty that may breed financial disease.

V. Business cannot afford to take the chances.

VI. Free coinage is a speculation, and speculation is the only form of activity that can afford to take the chances. Speculation is founded on chance and thrives upon chance.

VII. Since 1879 business has been conducted in this country on the basis of the single gold standard, and any serious attempt to merge the gold standard with any other, or to substitute any other for the gold standard, would result promptly in a financial and commercial panic more widespread and more baneful than the world has ever yet experienced. Silver has been retained in use as money, and while confidence is secure, it remains as good as gold. But institute free coinage, and you destroy the basis of all values and ruin the present order of things.

VIII. This is a civilized and enlightened nation, doing business with all the peoples of the world. Not only do the citizens of other nations interchange commodities with us in the course of an ever-expanding international commerce, but they invest in our securities, and actually sustain many of our most successful business enterprises by providing the funds necessary to their profitable expansion. Agitate a change in the present standard of value, which now measures our traffic in the marts of the whole world, and you compel the withdrawal of these vast investments and the suspension of most of the vast enterprises involved, and entail, directly and indirectly, untold misfortunes upon thousands of smaller but equally deserving industries.

IX. In our financial matters we are not independent of other nations and cannot afford to destroy their confidence.

X. Were we able to hold our debts at home we could talk of independence, and might arrange the standard for our internal commerce, according to any plan that might seem to us fit.

XI. We *could* erect a barrier that would virtually bar out all foreign trade.

XII. We *could* emulate China and "go it alone."

XIII. But we are a part of the civilized world, and must accept the common basis of values if we would enjoy a true intercourse.

XIV. An overissue of mere currency, whether composed of silver coins or of paper, would entail depreciation in the value of the currency itself and a consequent disturbance of all prices.

XV. We might as well coin copper and iron, and print scrip based on wheat and pork, if it is merely a greater volume of currency that is desired.

XVI. But, my friends, it is quality that counts. It is the quality of a man that makes or mars. It is the quality of a government that gives it stability.

XVII. To threaten the stability of our government is to involve the very honor of the nation.

XVIII. To pursue a course that would invite the world justly to assail our honor would be to destroy our financial credit.

XIX. The honor of our government is pledged to meet its obligations on the basis

of gold values, and we cannot repudiate that pledge except in dishonor.

XX. To enact "free coinage of silver," thus abandoning the pledged gold standard, would be repudiation pure and simple.

XXI. We have no right to attempt to benefit mine-owners at the expense of all other classes.

XXII. In fact we cannot afford to change a system that has been in existence since we resumed specie payments in 1879.

XXIII. Change the system, and gold will be withdrawn from circulation.

XXIV. Free coinage means gold at a premium.

XXV. With these conditions, can we afford to change?

XXVI. Another reason we cannot afford free coinage is that we immediately become the dumping ground of the world. All silver will come this way to receive a part of the rights and benefits intended for our new venture.

XXVII. And again, our worthy possessors of old silverware can melt it up and get good dollars out of fifty-three cents' worth of metal.

XXVIII. And again, our friendly powers in Europe will enter the line of speculation, and the six hundred million dollars of silver which France holds will cross the ocean to our detriment.

XXIX. Truly that would be pleasant! All the silver of Europe, all its old teapots, all the products of its silver mines, all its loose change everywhere transmuted into standard American eagles!

Negative.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—I. The prosperity of a country depends upon its business interests.

II. If all lines of trade are good then labor is employed, conditions are easy, and satisfaction is established. But if there is a lack of prosperity all is confusion and anarchy rears its threatening head.

III. Can worse conditions than the present exist? Hardly.

IV. Every industry is prostrated by a lack of current funds.

V. The farmer is getting poorly paid for his produce.

VI. Corn is being used in certain States for fuel.

VII. Hunger and cold exist in the cities.

VIII. Even family relations are injuriously affected.

IX. Bankruptcy seems inevitable.

X. Men who were once prosperous are now groaning under the lash of adversity.

XI. The farmer who is in debt cannot meet his obligations.

XII. The hoarding of money prevents its use in business.

XIII. The relief needed is to remove the supposition that gold is the only money and thus prevent its worship.

XIV. Add to the volume of currency, and stimulate trade.

XV. Free coinage does not mean gold at a premium.

XVI. Remove the demand for gold to transact business, and it cannot go to a premium.

XVII. No one will hoard gold without a prospect of gain.

XVIII. Foreign products are brought into our country, and if the importer declines to take his pay in our currency he can take his goods elsewhere.

XIX. We produce nearly one-third of all the manufactured goods of the world.

XX. The balance of trade in 1896 was over one hundred and two million dollars in our favor.

XXI. With an increased volume of money there will be an increased production of manufactured goods and an increased consumption at home.

XXII. Gold cannot flow to foreign countries, as is usually claimed, unless there is left something in its place as value received.

XXIII. If our people can export gold and make money by so doing, then gold will be exported. But if it is more valuable at home, then it will stay.

XXIV. The exporting of gold is wholly a matter of business with holders. It is their property, and they will use it as is most profitable.

XXV. So, if gold goes abroad, it must leave behind more than its value.

XXVI. No law should be allowed to exist that specifies that one kind of money can be contracted for in preference to another.

XXVII. A favorite argument of our opponents is that people holding what they call good money will not loan it without a contract to get back the same kind of money, or money just as good.

XXVIII. Should money exist that is not good money, then no one will borrow it, and consequently it will not be in demand and cannot go to a premium, and the value of the money loaned and the money returned must be equal.

XXIX. All money that is legal tender in the United States, no matter whether it is gold, silver, or paper, must be on an equality in the payment of debts.

XXX. The creditor being paid in any legal tender, he must support all such money or damage his own property.

XXXI. It is, therefore, proved that all legal tenders must be equal in value, for no debtor will pay a premium on gold when silver will answer his purpose.

XXXII. The only plausible argument raised by the gold-standard people against free coinage is that one money will be cheaper and drive the dearer out of the market, and thus produce a contraction of

the currency, and, instead of increasing the volume of money, it will be decreased.

XXXIII. They all admit that we need a larger circulating medium and should resort to an enlarged bank issue to meet requirements.

XXXIV. Now, if free coinage would decrease the volume of money we would certainly oppose it, but our proof shows that the reverse would be the case; that free coinage would make a union of values between gold and silver.

XXXV. Europe may not adopt our system, but as we make the price of silver she must pay our price, and either gold bullion must come down, or silver bullion will go up, or both. At least, the two must meet.

XXXVI. They tell us we shall be the dumping ground of the world if we adopt free coinage. If such is the case, then we certainly shall make the price of silver, and when we get it all, outsiders must pay our price to get it back. But "dumping ground" is simply a phrase to catch the groundlings.

XXXVII. It is true, when we declare free coinage we make the price 100, and the price of silver must go up, the world over, otherwise it will come to us. But Japan needs it, China

needs it, Mexico needs it, South American republics need it, Russia needs it, France needs it, and as this continent supplies nearly all of the silver of the world, if other countries wish to get any they must pay our price plus the exchange.

XXXVIII. They tell us all silver coins will be melted and shipped to us. What nonsense! Just stop and think! The ratio of France is 15½ to 1. Can she afford to lose one-half of a point to transfer it to our ratio of 16 to 1? Can she afford to exchange a full dollar of her coinage for one of ours on the basis, according to our opponents, of fifty-three cents? The argument is worthless.

XXXIX. Again, we hear that the people will melt their old silverware, etc., and convert it into United States coin.

XL. Very well! This will set our manufacturers of silverware to making new teapots and new bric-a-brac for the next Christmas, for they will want them. Can they afford to do this? Listen! A silver teapot costs $50. It contains $30 in silver, $10 in labor, and $10 in profits. Can they afford to lose $20 to get a new one for Christmas? If so, it will be a pleasant business for our silversmiths.

XLI. Yes, it will be delightful to get all the spare change of Europe and all their old teapots and all the products of their mines. But, my friends, what will they do with their new dollars? Will they take them back? They would be useless abroad as currency, and, on our opponents' arguments, they would be good only here. Well, they must then leave them and take back some product of ours in their place. With all the spare change in Europe to buy American goods, we will just be "in it." Let 'em come! I repeat, sir, let 'em come!

XLII. As a point for consideration, imagine the government a great trust on silver. Trusts, you know, dictate the price.

XLIII. In closing, let me say, the fifty-three-cent valuation is due wholly to silver being a commodity. Restore the former free coinage, and the difference in value will cease.

XLIV. Legal tenders, where they will pay all debts without reserve, must be equal in value.

XLV. There is no such thing as inflation when all money is equal.

XLVI. It is acknowledged that we need an increase in the volume of money; then

this increase must come from some source, and the single standard cannot be the best system known.

XLVII. As no way has yet been devised to increase the volume of currency, then we have a right to remonetize silver and declare that the gold standard is not for the best interests of the country.

SECTION VI.

QUESTION.

Should Cuba be annexed to the United States?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: Before advocating the annexation of Cuba to the United States, it would be well to describe the island briefly, and ascertain if it is geographically, commercially, and politically so situated as to be of value to us; if our interests are vitally concerned; if we are so situated that the commercial interests of the two countries are mutual. And if we discover that a closer relationship will be of advantage to us, then most assuredly we have a right to claim that Cuba should be annexed. Geographically the island is an extension of the United States, being situated south of Florida and only 75 miles from Key West. It is 760 miles long and about 70 miles in width. A chain of mountains, with numerous foothills.

extends throughout its entire length. These hills are very much broken and confused, and thousands of valleys are scattered through them. The valleys are very fertile. They are capable of producing fine crops of vegetables, especially sweet potatoes, upon which the natives chiefly subsist.

The climate is, on the average, the most delightful in America. Nature made Cuba the most healthful place in the world, but as no money was spent on sanitation until it came under the military control of the United States, most of the cities were breeding places for yellow fever and kindred diseases. With proper sanitary regulations yellow fever can be eradicated, thus removing a standing menace to the health of the American people.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, that Cuba would be worth no more to us than Alaska, the suppression of these contagious diseases under our sanitary corps would amply repay us for the cost of annexation. Add to this the fact that Cuba is one of the most beautiful and most productive countries on the globe, and would thrive wonderfully under our rule, and it can be readily seen that geographically it is ours, commercially it is

of advantage, and, as the result of the prosperity which would follow annexation, our mutual relations could not fail to be cordial and harmonious.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: The speaker who has just explained why Cuba should be annexed puts stress upon the alleged fact that it is geographically, commercially, and politically ours. If we are to be governed by these conditions, let us annex Mexico, as there exists between that country and ours a great border line without even 75 miles of water between. Arguing from the same premises, we should annex the great British possessions to the north of us. By this time we would find that, geographically, the Central American States ought to be ours, and then the balance of the West Indies will claim our attention, and the growing greed for power and possessions will know no bounds. The fact is, Mr. Chairman, the expansion of territory must not be such as to incur extra governmental expense, and without giving a full return to our people. The

great principle of our government has ever been to seek the greatest benefits for our commerce, to promote the welfare of the laborer, and ensure equal rights to all. We already have all we can handle to advantage. We do not need Mexico, nor Canada, nor do we need Cuba. Our political relations with all the nations of the earth are harmonious, our commerce with them is valuable, and our government highly respected. We have ever proclaimed that it was not our desire to extend our domain, and when we favored Cuban independence we solemnly pledged ourselves that the act was for humanity's sake, and not for acquisition or subjugation. We proclaimed the independence of Cuba and disavowed any intention to force or accept annexation. Cuba is now practically in our power, and it remains with us to fulfill our pledge of giving it independence, or violate the sacred duty we owe it.

The Monroe Doctrine has always been construed to mean that the American Continent shall remain as it is, so far as the acquisition of territory by foreign nations is concerned. And by the same doctrine we have agreed to preserve the autonomy of every

other American republic. We stand as a sentinel to warn other countries not to meddle with Western politics, and as a regulator of this business we ought not to usurp the authority we deny to others, and attempt to secure new territory at every opportunity. At first we refused to annex Hawaii, on the ground that we did not need it; but as the Hawaiians were almost wholly dependent upon us, as they were governed by Americans, used American money, and flourished through American commerce, we reconsidered the question, and admitted Hawaii to the Union. With Cuba it is far different. If admitted, the ill-paid Cubans could compete with our labor and various commercial productions. We do not desire competition, but do wish protection for our labor. If it is good government to hold Mexico and Canada from a free commerce, the same rule holds good as to Cuba. Annex Cuba, and the same spirit of acquisition will extend to other countries. To curb the principle of "world power" that so prevails among our statesmen we must denounce the annexation of unnecessary territory as against the spirit of American institutions.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: The speaker seems to scent danger from afar, but he does not tell us what that danger is. He believes that the annexation of Cuba is inimical to our interests. He forgets, or ignores the fact, that several times in our history we have drawn this same imaginary danger line, and have each time crossed it, and found the crossing good. Let us note some of these danger lines of the past. Among them we find the Louisiana Purchase, Florida, New Orleans, Texas, California, the "Gadsden Purchase," Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Philippines, and now we must face the annexation of Cuba. No one can denounce any of the annexations which we have made. Had we refused to purchase Louisiana it would have been an unpardonable error, and when we extended our dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific it was only what a progressive nation should do. We were denounced when we appropriated $7,200,000 to purchase the supposed barren fields of Alaska; but are we sorry now? Already do we feel the benefits of our possession of Porto Rico

and our relation with Cuba, and when these islands come into the Union as States or Territories, then shall we recognize the justice of annexation. Cuba's fertile fields have been destroyed by the oppressor—and wanton cruelty, barbarity, and even murder, existed until the American people could stand it no longer. Upon the destruction of the *Maine* our patience was exhausted. Our armies were sent to release Cuba from Weyler's atrocities. We conquered her enemies, and now in justice to humanity it is our duty to restore prosperity, and give to the people of that island a stable government, protected by our own, which is best accomplished by spreading over her our flag and our constitution.

The plea that Cuba is a menace to labor is the plea of ignorance. To judge of the future we must consider the past. Our doors have always been open to the immigration of the world, and yet we have never had cause to complain. In this case the immigration will be reversed. It will be a new field opened to all classes of Americans. The fertile valleys will invite the farmer. The forests will supply our lumbermen. The mines will

invite American supervision, and the whole development of the island become American, to the benefit of both nations.

No laborer need protest against the annexation of Cuba because of a fear of competition. He should rejoice at the consummation, for with this union we shall extend almost every line of trade. Every American product that is consumed in that island must benefit us just in the proportion that it required labor to produce it. By annexation we not only benefit our laboring man, but American capital also, which is now being attracted by Cuba's undeveloped resources. The assurance by our government that all industries will be protected from any domestic violence will open up to Cuba's industries a marvelous growth.

The present trouble with Cuba is that her dreams have always centered upon absolute independence. While she is thankful for American deliverance from Spanish bondage, yet she has not arrived at that stage of understanding where she can successfully govern herself.

What is proving true with Hawaii will prove true with Cuba. but in her long bond-

age she was made to doubt even the rescuing arm of our government. The Cubans do not understand what it is to be an American citizen, nor comprehend that liberty in its fullest sense is attained under the Stars and Stripes. When they come to a realization of what annexation means; when they come to appreciate American liberty and realize the power of American push and energy; when they see the value of American invested capital, then will they fully appreciate what it is to be a part of us, and will come willingly.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: We are not considering the well-being of the people of Cuba. It is not a question of what may or may not be for the interests of that island, but a plain question of fact—should Cuba be annexed to the United States? It is not a question of sentiment, but of political economy. If there is a doubt as to whether it will add to our wealth or political greatness, then drop the idea of annexation as impolitic. Our country is not an asylum for the downtrodden people of other lands. We sympa-

thize with them, but we cannot afford to injure our people in helping others. Charity begins at home, and our first duty is to protect our own people. Charity may teach us to relieve our suffering brothers, but experience teaches us to take care of our homes first. The idea of the brotherhood of man is a lofty one, but before we enter into another humanitarian war let us count the cost. We are secure when we are right, but where right ends we may find a pit full of strife and misery.

Affirmative.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: Our opponents seem to see but one side of the question—the side from which benefits will accrue to us. They do not consider that our going to war was not for American profit, but for the relief of suffering Cuba. The vast expenditure of treasure was not for gain, nor the sacrifice of life for glory or ambition. Our motives were humane.

Our opponents forget that the question reads: "Should Cuba be annexed to the United States?" It is not a humanitarian question. If by annexation we can regener-

ate the almost destroyed island, re-establish prosperity, commerce, and justice, then indeed is the question ours.

Now, what is this trade relation which exists between that people and ours? I will tell you:

First. Cuba is one of the most productive countries on the globe.

Second. Her products are of great value to us.

Third. These productions are sugar, tobacco, tropical fruits, coffee, molasses, honey, wax, rum, and cigars.

Fourth. By annexation we will supply her with flour, meats, clothing, machinery, kerosene, jewelry, and thousands of articles now bought elsewhere.

Fifth. As sugar is one of the great staples for our people, any increase in home production will be of vast benefit to us. From being a luxury it has become a necessity, even to the very poor.

Sixth. Besides this commerce, we shall engage with her in the development of her vast resources. We shall institute enterprises, invest capital, employ labor, educate her people, improve sanitation, inspire ambition to succeed, build up defenses, and establish peace and happiness.

Annexation means all this and more. It will open up to the Cuban people a domestic condition such as they have never dreamed

of. The servitude of the past will be transformed into a heaven of equal rights. Wretchedness, poverty, and despair will be replaced with new opportunities, new fields of labor, and new visions of home, comfort, and security. Merit will be rewarded. Annexation will carry good will to all, and thus establish the relations which should and must ever exist between that country and this.

Negative.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: While it is true that Cuba is fertile, and produces valuable commodities, yet there are weighty reasons why she should remain as an independent state. We admit that this island supplies us with a large percentage of our sugar, tropical fruits, tobacco, etc. Now suppose we consider Cuba a part of our republic. Of course sugar, tobacco, and tropical fruits will be free of duty. Can the new industry—the manufacture of beet sugar—thrive and prosper when the cane of that fertile island, manufactured into sugar at small cost, can supply all our wants? No one will dispute the fact that Cuba and Hawaii can produce

sugar cheaper than it can be produced from beets at the present time. What, then, can we say to this new industry that is promising so much? When it is demonstrated that the raising of beets is one of most profitable lines a farmer can engage in, is it policy to inaugurate a system that will be a detriment to these thousands, aye—if the industry reaches the proportions of supplying all the sugar we consume—hundreds of thousands of farmers? It has been proven that we can raise hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of sugar from beets; then why should we turn the business of raising sugar into other hands?

Again, Florida is just as needy and just as capable of producing fruits and tobacco as is Cuba. Then why not let the people of that State have the benefit? These are questions to be considered, as well as that of burdening ourselves with a people who do not speak English, and never will. There are 1,500,000 people who do not speak our language. Is it wise to annex those who are totally unlike us in character, in speech, and in qualifications? Is it good government to become an asylum for the poor and down-trodden? Is

it good business to open our ports free to products which we can grow at home? Is this protection to the American farmer?

Mr. Chairman, from the burden of discussion by our opponents, it seems that their great stock in trade is mercy to the Cuban people. Not satisfied with the gift of independence and an opportunity to work out their own salvation, our opponents propose to take them into our fold and feed them of our American milk and honey. Against this unnecessary pampering we most emphatically protest. We gave them our treasure by the millions. We sacrificed priceless lives for their freedom. We have done what no other nation on earth would have done, and for it we asked no recompense. Let us hail Cuba as a sister republic of this continent. Let us guarantee protection, but do not let us sacrifice any of our institutions in order to build up hers. A union may become distasteful and hateful to us. In case of war, if under our flag, she would be a shining mark for the enemy. Her long line of coast would add greatly to the difficulties of defense.

Let us husband our strength at home, teach our people industry and economy, and

when any alluring prize in the shape of acquisition of territory is offered to us, let us first count the cost.

Affirmative.

SEVENTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: In closing this discussion I call your attention to some of the reasons given in favor of annexation.

First. By annexation we could establish a system of sanitation which would prevent native diseases spreading to our shores.

Second. Commercially, we should control the entire trade of the island.

Third. We depend largely upon Cuba for such products as sugar, fruits, and tobacco, and under our supervision those products can be vastly increased.

Fourth. By cultivating the 17,000,000 acres in Cuba that lie fallow, we can add millions to our present exports.

Fifth. Annexation will open land for immigration for many of our unemployed.

Sixth. It will extend the demand for our cereal foods, meats, cotton, machinery, etc.

Seventh. To produce our sugar without a tariff benefits the consumer. This alone would save annually $100,000,000.

Eighth. The knowledge of Cuba's salubrious climate

would attract pleasure seekers, and their disbursements would add to the wealth of the country.

Ninth. Having annexed Porto Rico, we require Cuba to control the passages to the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico.

Tenth. We need Cuba in order to protect our navy, if in the future we are called upon to go to war.

Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt of the propriety and justice of this proposal. Cuba should be annexed. The answer that it would open competition with our people is puerile. As well say that Florida should not furnish products that compete with New York. Cuba would only add to our territory a country about the size of Pennsylvania, but one whose climate and products are unlike ours. With Cuba one of our States, we shall share in her prosperity and she in ours.

SECTION VII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the fear of punishment has a greater influence on human conduct than the hope of reward.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Nature has ordained two distinct rules as the basis of all actions:

First. Order.
Second. Punishment for the infraction of order.

II. If any of Nature's laws are transgressed, the inevitable result is punishment. There is no escape. The punishment will be in proportion to the disobedience.

III. The child is taught to fear punishment, and its conduct bends to this decree.

IV. The impressions of youth largely govern the actions of after-life. If those impressions, as they refer to conduct, are those of obedience, then it largely becomes the nature

of the individual to obey command, and to fear the penalty of disobedience.

V. Fear of punishment enters largely into the action of every individual. He considers these consequences:

First. If his action be so and so, what will be the result?

Second. Will it constitute a violation on which punishment will follow?

Third. If this be so, will he escape punishment?

These considerations must be a factor in governing his actions. While reward may often influence character, yet the fear of punishment proves a greater restraint.

VI. Animals are governed by restraint.

VII. The horse is broken to obey the command of his master. The dog, though he loves his master, fears him.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. We do not disagree with the speaker in regard to the violation of nature's laws. We admit that if a child puts his finger in the fire he will suffer the penalty

of a burn. This may affect his character in a very slight degree, as he will undoubtedly scream with all his might and receive words of endearment from his mother, but as to the effect on human conduct as implied in the question, there is no comparison between the effect produced by fear of punishment and hope of reward.

II. Where crime is anticipated the action is based wholly upon the probabilities of escape, not upon the apprehension of punishment.

III. The man committing a theft considers only the chances of escape. He arranges so as to avoid detection, and his whole efforts are directed to this purpose.

IV. Our opponent refers us to the horse and dog and declares that fear governs their actions. Possibly this may be true in a measure, but we ask the dog to bark for his breakfast, and he responds. We ask the horse to do tricks, and we give him sugar.

V. Probably as strong an argument as is known, that promised reward will govern the brute creation, is that of the educated pig. We all know the pig is an obstinate animal and will yield only as the whim takes him.

If his notion takes him through a wire fence, then he goes through it. If it takes him through a line of clubs and pitchforks, then he goes through, just the same. How then is the trained pig made to perform his wonderful tricks? It is simply by the reward offered. The trainer works him along gradually by throwing kernels of corn, and in various ways secures a performance through "the artist's" appetite.

VI. Children will invariably do more from promises of pleasure to come than from any other motive.

VII. The boy wants to go a-fishing or to attend a game of ball. The father grants permission after certain requirements have been complied with.

VIII. The father sets his son at work hoeing corn, and with threatening language tells him to do his work well. What is the result? The boy was challenged to a species of combat, and he feels aggrieved, and if an opportunity for revenge occurs he is not slow in taking it.

IX. Another father sets his son at work hoeing corn and offers a reward—fishing, gunning, boating, or playing ball. Mark this

result. The boy's heart is happy. He whistles and sings. Contrast the difference between the feelings of these two boys.

X. Compulsory duties are never heartily performed.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Our friends on the opposite side seem to consider that the fear of punishment implies some painful operation. That it refers to bodily misery. Now fear of punishment may refer solely to a distressed condition of the mind.

II. Conscience is said to inflict the greatest of all punishments. Murderers often express relief on being brought to justice, because of the tortures they have suffered from remorse.

III. If we must bring the child into this discussion, let us take him at the beginning of understanding. He sees something he wants; he tries to get it. You push the article out of the way and try to bribe him to be good. This may have its influence for the time being, but how is it next time? Had you

inflicted some form of punishment, fear for the future would restrain.

IV. Probably a better illustration of the child's fear is that of the habit of screaming for some article. You yield to the screams, and you can continue to do so. Correct the offender at once, and you hold him in subjection and prevent disagreeable scenes through the fear of consequences.

V. Discipline is the condition of all human order.

VI. Discipline means government through education. The soldier yields to discipline because it is his duty and because he dare not disobey.

VII. The clerk enters his employer's office. He knows his reward, which is his hire. His conduct is based wholly upon his duty as a clerk. A violation of duty means punishment. It may not mean punishment of body, but punishment by being discharged from his position.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. The greatest exertions of life spring from the hope of reward.

A boat is wrecked and the life-saving crew seek to rescue her. A fire bell is rung and the firemen hasten to the rescue. A prize is offered and competition ensues. The efforts of the crew are directed to saving life and gaining the blessings of a grateful people. The firemen endanger their lives where punishment would be inefficacious. The prize to be won is one of the greatest that could be offered, and is wholly moral in nature.

II. Read Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and you have a perfect illustration of the power of emulation; the power to win by reward of merit; the sequel to the causes of crime and its punishment. Study this author, and you will have not hesitation in answering this question.

III. What is life without reward?

IV. Punishment follows all classes of men or peoples, from the most enlightened to the barbarian.

V. Reward is the sole object of life's endeavors.

VI. It is reward that stirs the heart of the painter, the sculptor, the musician, the inventor.

VII. It is the hope of reward that moves

the actions of the Christian, that builds churches, sends missionaries, translates the Bible, and scatters religion over the entire world.

Affirmative.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—I. In closing this discussion it is but just to state that we are influenced by both sides of this question: fear of punishment and hope of reward. Our labors all tend to some kind of reward, but this fact does not prove its influence over human conduct, which may be upright though there be no merit in our character. This is a matter of moral rectitude, and to do our duty is simply to do what ought to be done and there can be no deserved merit or reward. Duty is entitled to duty's reward and no more. Its influence over character is only what ought to exist, while a fear of punishment restrains vice and crime.

II. The boy obeys the mandate, "Thou shalt not steal," through fear of discovery.

III. Public disclosure of one's misdeeds is a punishment few can endure. With the knowledge of such a consequence only the

more hardened dare to run the risk of detection, and, low as the motive originally may be, perseverance in well doing and a due respect for public opinion ultimately have a beneficial effect on human conduct.

SECTION VIII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the United States should adopt penny postage.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman, the question of reducing letter postage to one cent has, at various times, been discussed in the halls of Congress, and although such a measure has never been adopted, there are very strong probabilities of action being taken in the near future.

II. There are several reasons why penny postage should become a feature of our laws, and they may be represented as follows:

a. Our post-office system is a public necessity and a public benefit.

b. What is for the benefit of the whole people should be made just as cheap as possible.

c. We expend large sums of money on river

and harbor improvements, which are recognized as a benefit to all.

d. All public improvements should cost as little as possible.

e. Only the question of the best postal service should be considered.

III. Once our postage was in the hands of a corporation. The cost was burdensome.

IV. Once our postage was 25 cents; then 15 cents; then 10 cents; then 5 cents; then 3 cents; then 2 cents. And now, to reach the height of perfection, let us make it 1 cent.

V. As reduction in the scale of postage has proven a benefit both to correspondents and the revenue, then it is a logical conclusion that a reduction at the present time will also increase the revenue, besides conferring benefits on all the people.

VI. The more mails the more postage and the greater revenues.

VII. The less the price of postage the more mails.

VIII. Penny postage is a success in Great Britain financially.

IX. If various countries in Europe can sustain their departments on a penny basis, and

also deliver the mails to all the people, regardless of city or country, then surely the United States can adopt the one-cent postage and be just as near self-sustaining as now.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: Our friend who has just explained his ideas of a low rate of postage, and asserts that one penny will be worth more to us than two pennies, puts me in mind of the little boy who inquired of the groceryman the price of six sticks of candy, and got as a reply, 5 cents. The boy then mused: "Six sticks of candy for 5 cents, 5 sticks for 4 cents, 4 sticks for 3 cents, 3 sticks for 2 cents, 2 sticks for 1 cent, 1 stick for nothing. I will take one stick." So I would say to my friend, as he mentions the reduction of postage at different times, that if the mails and benefits increased comparatively with the decrease in the cost of postage, then we will go a step further, as did the boy, and have our mails free. I believe we should get more mail, and he says more mail more revenue.

II. But I do not agree with my friend ex-

actly. There is a limit of endurance in all things, and I believe we have got to that point in our postal laws.

III. Remember we are not a thickly settled country, and delivery costs more than in Europe, where there are more inhabitants and better roads and facilities for general distribution.

IV. Good roads are an important factor in the cost of transportation.

V. Our system of postage cannot be likened to the river and harbor improvements, as it is a business matter with every individual who sends mail, and the improvement of general highways, either on land or water, is not an individual business. The citizen is interested as one of a State or nation.

VI. We now find a deficit in our postal accounts, and while times are hard, economy should be the motto, and no change should be made.

VII. When we become more thickly populated it will be well to try the venture, but first let us study a reduction of salaries and cost of transportation, and when these are made as inexpensive as possible we will consider dividing by two!

VIII. Dividing by two means one-half of the present postage.

IX. If you divide by two we must write twice as many letters, with no extra cost for handling, to have the same balance as now.

X. Will the people increase their correspondence to the necessary extent?

XI. Let us plan for a self-sustaining postal department and go slow.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman, my friend who has just yielded the floor is inclined to levity in referring to my colleague's statement of the reduction of postage from twenty-five cents down to one cent. He gave this reduction as evidence, and, Mr. Chairman, it is good evidence, too. The same question came up when we discussed a change from three cents to two. But our opponents were mistaken, as the increased revenues have shown, and now, when we have the example of other countries, who do not push as do the American people, making a penny postage a success, then we have the right to present it as argument.

II. Yes; I believe correspondence, both social and commercial, will double in volume.

III. Many people even now write on a postal card to save expense, and it costs just as much to carry a card as it does a letter.

IV. Drop postal cards, if it is a loss to adopt one cent letter postage.

V. If it is revenue alone you seek—and the theory of our opponents is that a high postage will bring it—then advocate revenue only.

VI. If you wish to increase the business capacity of our people and encourage the interchange of ideas, then adopt the affirmative.

VII. The people really demand a lower rate of postage.

VIII. Hard times are one reason we would recommend its adoption. They are rather an argument for than against us.

IX. People in moderate circumstances pay but very little of the postal revenues. It is largely paid by business men.

X. Business men are quick to respond to opportunities. Where they now send circulars they would send letters.

XI. Postal cards would not be required.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: When an individual conducts his business so as to meet his expenses he is just holding his own, but when he conducts it at a loss he must, sooner or later, go into bankruptcy. As this is true of an individual, so, too, is it true of a government.

II. If the revenues of a government show a deficit, it is not good policy to continue. Even if we do have hard times, expenses must be met.

III. If the postal system is conducted at a loss, as it is on a two-cent basis, this loss must be made up in some other branch, or the government will increase its debts.

IV. As we have no assurance that one-cent postage will pay on this continent, it is not good policy to make any change now.

V. Canada has three-cent postage, and Mexico five-cent.

VI. It is easier for England to conduct her business on a penny postage than it is for Canada on three cents.

VII. The poor are not distressed, for they write but little.

VIII. It is largely for the advertising of business that postage is used, and this is a private transaction. Reduction would redound to individual profit, and would not be for the greatest good of the greatest number.

IX. Let us see that the postal service is conducted with the economy which brings success; that it is rendered self-sustaining; and that the interests of business are not neglected.

SECTION IX.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That high license is the best means of checking intemperance.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: The question before us to-night is the most important that ever occupied the attention of this or any people. The best mode of controlling the liquor traffic is really the subject for debate. If it is not by high license—then what? The American people are willing to enact any law that will hold in check the depraved appetites of those who debase themselves in their desire for drink.

II. Various laws have been enacted, but none seems to throw the proper restraint over the saloon quite as effectually as does high license.

III. With a proper enforcement of a high tax imposed upon those who receive licenses,

the saloons are placed in a position where they are compelled to observe the laws governing them, or the amount paid for the privilege will be lost by the revocation of the license.

IV. High license also makes the saloon-keeper a spy on those who seek to violate the law by selling without authority.

V. Let us suppose a village grants one license at five hundred dollars, or, if you wish, one thousand dollars. Previous to this there were four or five saloons running with unrestraint, nights, Sundays, and all the time. The man has paid one thousand dollars. No others care to invest so much in an undertaking not positively sure of success. The license money is paid, and having this large amount of money at stake the licensee will take care that no liquor is illegally disposed of in his territory. He has paid for the privilege, and if the authorities are neglectful of their duties they will be quickly notified where the law has been violated; so, instead of four or five saloons, the high license has reduced them to one, and that one, with so much at stake, dare not become a violater of the law, or it too may go.

VI. Is it better to have four or five practi-

cally unrestrained drinking-places, or only one, and this one compelled by a large money consideration to be a respectable place of business?

VII. With high license all parties are on the lookout for lawbreakers, and when this is the condition of things a restraint is thrown around the entire business, and the evil is abated as far as possible.

VIII. The man who pays high license must keep his place in a manner not displeasing to the better class of people. He cannot afford to encourage drunkenness, as this would become disgusting to others and his trade would be lost.

IX. As the result of high license we can depend on the following mitigations of the evils of liquor-selling:

Sabbath closing.
Prohibition to minors.
No common drunkenness.
No disgraceful conduct.
No gambling.
Caution.
Cleanliness.
Restraint.
Respectability.
Observance of law.

If these benefits are secured by granting the affirmative of this question, then we have indeed taken a grand step in the control of this traffic, which, without restraint, is a mighty foe to mankind.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: From the argument of my esteemed friend, we may make the following deductions: Give me (the saloon-keeper) a monopoly in the sale of death's poison and I will protect your people from illicit selling, and I will make my shop respectable. I will throw restraints around those who are liable to go too far. I will allow no drunkenness or misdemeanors. I will protect the minor. I will be cautious that no one catches me infringing on the law. I will be tidy and cozy, and in every way I will equip my place so that its allurements will attract all the good people who have money.

II. Now, my dear friends, you know, we all know, that the saloon-keeper's observance of law is entirely dependent on the severity of the penalty. With him it is not what is for

the benefit of the community; it is what is for his benefit.

III. If beneficence were his aim he would never take out a license. His mission is to make money for himself.

IV. High license means monopoly. Not abolition of the curse of drink, but an attempt to make it more respectable, more enticing, and consequently more dangerous and damnable.

V. High license means a gilded brightness that will attract young men whom slums would repel.

VI. High license means that the common drunkard must stand aside while we make common drunkards out of those who are in better circumstances.

VII. The statement by our friend that high license means better order, better restraint, and better obedience to law is an insult to those who should enforce the laws.

VIII. It is no argument to say that high license would facilitate the enforcement of the law. Law is law, and the duty of the citizen is obedience under all circumstances.

IX. The only real solution of this question is through prohibition.

X. Our opponents claim that high license

will crowd out a part of the saloons. If such is the case let us crowd them all out by no license and have no slums or gilded cafés, falsely so called.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: I will willingly agree with my friend who has just changed the subject from license to prohibition that, if we could bring about real prohibition, if we could only persuade the people to let liquor alone, we should be far better off under the new dispensation, but we do not seem to be able to do this.

II. The fact stares us in the face that men will drink and that their wants will be supplied.

III. If my friends can alter the moral nature of man and abolish his appetite, then the question is settled.

IV. But we are face to face with a terrible evil, and how can we best control it? We may make innumerable suggestions, but what will have the most beneficial effect?

V. It is known that prohibition does not prohibit, and again our people will not pass prohibition laws. So what are we going to do

about it? We are going to do the best we can, and the experience of the past is that where high license is tried it is far preferable to no license and a wild, reckless disobedience to law.

VI. I admit that if we were all good it would be better for us, but we are not all good, and in all probability never will be—at least not until the millennium.

VII. We must take the case exactly as it is. How can we best improve the condition of things?

VIII. If high license does mean monopoly, and that monopoly gives us less evil than at present, then in logic we are bound to accept the lesser of two evils.

IX. No one expects the saloon-keeper to be a man of high morals, or to teach morals. He is in the business for the money there is in it, and we are discussing the question how to prevent the greatest disaster.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: To judge from the arguments advanced by the affirmative side, they seem to take for granted

that we have a bad system, and must perpetuate it by licensing it. Things have come to a bad pass when we acknowledge that the laws cannot be enforced. If high license would protect our boys, our fathers and brothers, then I would be one of its advocates; but it does nothing of the kind. It seeks to make the business respectable; to take away the curse which is usually bestowed on dens of vice; to placate the people by paying large sums into their treasury; to make believe that it is a public necessity; that hotels must be protected, or the traveling man will have no place to stay. These are some of the many pleas raised in its behalf.

II. If the saloon is a proper thing to encourage, and a good thing for our boys, why license it at all? If it is for the benefit of the community we have no right to license it, any more than we do a store or shop.

III. I must support my colleague in his position that the liquor traffic is an evil in any form and should be abolished.

Affirmative.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: In closing the argument on the affirmative side of this

question I desire to set before the judges the true state of the case. We all admit that evil results come from drink, even under a high license. No one takes the ground that our side of the question is perfect; that it corrects the effects of the saloon; that it puts it under absolute control; but we do claim that the negative have not shown that high license is worse, or that any other system is better; therefore I must challenge them to prove some other system is better. We do not claim perfection, but we do claim no other known system is better. We know one evil cannot be as bad as four or five. The law is supposed to be more efficient in its watchfulness over one than it can be over more. Besides, the simple fact that one thousand dollars is at stake is a great incentive to a reasonable observance of the laws. And now, in closing, I again challenge the negative to point out a better system, or we shall claim the question.

Negative.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman, it now seems that the question is reduced to a chal-

lenge; at least this is the war cry of our last speaker. This is an unexpected position for them to retreat behind. Point out a better system or grant us the question. Anyone with half an eye to justice knows that we have suggested a better system, and that system is prohibition. But they then spring the argument that we cannot have this; that it is impossible; that the people crave for drink and will be supplied, and that high license is the only means of keeping them in due bounds.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as long as our opponents ask for a better system, and at the same time demand the "personal liberty" of free drink, I will suggest a plan which will largely settle this question. To be brief, I will enumerate the following conditions, to be observed in the conduct of the liquor traffic:

First. Government control.
Second. License only on petition of the people.
Third. Appointment of saloon-keeper.
Fourth. Compensation by salary.
Fifth. Conducted the same as the post office.
Sixth. Removals for violations of law.
Seventh. Restrictions.
Eighth. No treating.
Ninth. No drunkard allowed to drink.

Tenth. No minor allowed to drink.
Eleventh. Closed at certain hours.
Twelfth. Closed on the Sabbath.

Adopt this system, and the cause of drunkenness will be driven from our midst. By Government control we are assured of a systematic business. If the people want a saloon they will petition for it, just as they do now for a post office. Appointment of a saloon-keeper with a salary means that there will be no more profit in lawbreaking than there is now in the postal service. The penalty of violation would be removal. By making the barkeeper a salaried official we take away the incentive to "push trade." If the law says close at such an hour, the saloon-keeper will close, for he gains nothing keeping open, and may lose his position. When the minor calls for a drink he is refused on the same ground. The saloon will be closed on the Sabbath, for no one will work for nothing. In fact, this system gives us full power to check the evils of abuse, because the saloon has everything to lose by disobedience and nothing to gain. No man will offer to treat another, any more than he will now ask the postmaster to let him read the letter of another. Besides the con-

trol which we shall institute, we give each man his personal liberty to go and drink, as long as he does not abuse the privilege. It is "personal liberty" in the fullest sense, and yet it is protection complete.

The suggestion that there would be illicit saloons is the sheerest nonsense. The Government would handle those things just as forcibly as they now handle any other violations of law. Detection would mean imprisonment, and to escape the vigilance of the secret service of our Government would be next to impossible.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I have accepted the challenge, and if this system does not meet the requirements of the opposition to the question, and at the same time overcome the arguments raised against prohibition, then we will surrender to the inevitable.

SECTION X.

QUESTION.

Should the Government of the United States own and control the railroads?

AFFIRMATIVE SPEAKER. — Mr. Chairman: "Should the Government of the United States own and control the railroads?" I will say most emphatically Yes. The railroads constitute the most extensive industry in this country outside of agriculture. They have formed a network of connections from one side of the continent to the other. By them our enormous interstate commerce is carried on. Like our public highways they are a public necessity, and they are as necessary for our welfare now as government itself. Once they were considered individual property, but all recent legislative enactments tend to remove them from absolute individual control, while allowing them to remain as sources of individual profit. In granting privileges to these corporations, the Government was obliged to

restrict and confine them to rules and regulations.

The railroads have become so intertwined into our commercial existence as to require government control over rates, schedules, fares, etc. This was necessary to protect the people from unjust and exorbitant charges in the transportation of commodities, and we therefore exercise one factor of the question now—control. Not the absolute control and management of the business, but a general control of its methods of management in relation to the public and its employees.

State ownership of railroads is not a new question, nor is it an experiment. It is in successful operation in nearly all countries but the United States. It is a success in Germany, England, Hungary, Russia, and most of the countries of Europe. In Russia the great Siberian road, which stretches across the great continent of Asia, is actually owned by the Government. Compare this extensive system with our Union Pacific division, and mark the difference. The United States furnished means to build the road, besides granting one-half the land twenty miles each side of the line, and yet it was

given into the hands of individuals for profit. Millionaires have been made in this deal, without one cent of profit to our Government, and to-day sixty-five million dollars of United States bonds are outstanding as a guarantee fund for its building. These bonds are now due, and the mortgages on the road have been so adjusted that it is now a legal question whether this vast amount of money is secured or not. Bills providing for the foreclosure and seizure of the road, and for its operation under Government control, have been presented in Congress.

In Germany the roads are owned by the Government; passengers can ride four miles for a cent; and all freight rates are in proportion. Yet the revenue of German roads nets a profit of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars yearly.

In Hungary the Government owns and controls all its railroads. The passenger rates are half a cent a mile, and freights are no higher than they are in Germany. That country is making money for the Government and paying good wages to its employees; in fact such good wages that strikes never occur.

Switzerland has practically the same system as Hungary, and it pays well.

Belgium bought its railroads, doubled the wages of the employees, and reduced the fares to one cent per mile, and still found it a profitable investment.

In India a passenger can ride for less than one cent a mile, and India also finds state ownership profitable.

Australia purchased and built her railroads, and paid for them within ten years out of the net profits received from fares and freights.

New Zealand in 1893, with a population of only 700,000, made a net profit of $1,493,325 on her railroads. In 1896 the earnings are reported to exceed $2,000,000, and to be constantly increasing. There are now over two thousand miles of roads with a prospect of increasing the mileage to three thousand, and the net profit to over $3,000,000, in 1897. As New Zealand contains only about 106,000 square miles, it is evident her roads are of vast importance to the country as a source of revenue as well as through their low rates of travel and freight.

If this is true of countries now in actual control, why cannot the United States, with

its vast systems of roads now charging four times the fare and freight of other countries, not only buy and control these systems, but reduce the cost of transportation and still meet all obligations of purchase by its net earnings?

It is not a question of experiment, but of policy and politics; no change will ever be made until the people demand it through legislation. No reform was ever instituted by leaving the initiative to those who were profiting by the system sought to be changed.

Changes which affect individual profits will be fought as unjust and revolutionary. Any change tending to Government ownership and control of railroads will be combated by possessors of millions. It means that individuals who have been and are now profiting by them must be content with the purchase money, and that the revenue of these gigantic systems must be applied for the benefit of all the people.

It is no longer a question of right or wrong. Railroads are public necessities, and should be under the management of the public. We all depend upon them. The price of our produce is largely governed by the cost of trans-

portation. Our entire industrial life is but a part of these systems. Our country has been built up through the facilities of travel, and we are now in the hands of the railroads.

With such conditions it is our right to demand the greatest good possible from these agencies. If we can save one-half the freight charges to the farmer, it will be of great assistance to him in times of adversity.

If we could travel for one cent a mile, millions of people who cannot now afford this luxury could visit their friends, and enjoy recreation without burdensome tax on their purses.

The reasons why state ownership and control should be adopted may be particularized as follows:

First. The railroads are a public necessity.

Second. The present rates of transportation are a burden to the people.

Third. Government ownership has been proven a success.

Fourth. It will reduce fares.

Fifth. It will give a greater profit to the farmer.

Sixth. It will add millions of dollars to the revenue of the Government.

Seventh. There will be no railroad strikes.

Eighth. It will benefit everyone.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman, government ownership and control of our system of railroads is an impossibility. Our systems are too extensive and too valuable for the Government to attempt to handle. Had we acquired control at the completion of the roads, our experience, growing with the traffic, might have resulted in successful management, but now it is too late. Do our friends have any idea of the magnitude of such an undertaking? Have they been counting the cost? Remember it is a good maxim to count the cost. For a moment let us review a few figures and see what this question means.

From *Poor's Railway Manual* we learn that the railroads of the United States are capitalized for $10,500,000,000. Does my friend who so ably illustrated government ownership and control in Russia, Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, India, Australia, and New Zealand, comprehend the magnitude of these figures? Can he or any speaker see wisdom in our Government attempting to handle this monstrous debt? If purchased it must be on credit, and no govern-

ment could stand the issue of the successive series of bonds necessary to cover the indebtedness. Our debt at the close of the War was only about one-fourth of this amount, and we could scarcely carry the load. What then can we expect of the condition of our Government credit with four times the debt? It is simply nonsense to talk seriously in this strain, for it can never be. There are a great many systems of railroads in the United States, and these systems consist of more miles of railroads than the whole of the rest of the world combined. This would make the burden of one government equal to that of all others together, including the hundreds of private systems. In the United States we have over six hundred separate lines of railroad. Do you realize what it means to handle the army of men, the hundreds of thousands of cars, the millions of tons of freight involved in such a system, and yet attain perfect order from the minutest transaction to the summary of the whole?

Our system of railroads is under the control of men who have grown up in it, who know every feature of it, and who cannot be subjected to the whims of political patronage;

men who, when once they connect themselves with this profession, do not leave it until death or disability overtakes them. It is a life study and a life work. Changes cannot be made every day and yet retain the perfection of detail necessary to successful management. To attempt to handle this through government control would involve disaster, ruin, and railway calamities. Politics may deal with legislation, but to handle over $10,000,000,000 of constantly moving wealth, to the proper management of which millions of people trust their lives for safe transportation, is a responsibility too great and too complicated for any government to assume.

Again, how are we to buy these lines of railroad if the individuals do not choose to sell? We must admit that vested rights are guaranteed by our Constitution and cannot be safely tampered with. Individual capital has been invested and no power under our Constitution could buy or confiscate if the parties did not care to sell. As well say to farmer A., "I think it is to the best interest of our people that you sell your farm to Mr. B.," and straightway we proceed to sell out farmer A., whether he cares to sell or not. How long

would our farmers stand this kind of insecurity? They would have no rights of possession and consequently no security as is pledged by our Constitution. I would therefore suggest the following reasons why government ownership and control should not prevail:

First. The sum of $10,500,000,000 speaks for itself.

Second. It is not possible for the Government to manage such vast interests in a safe and judicious manner.

Third. The system is too immense.

Fourth. Political parties are antagonistic to the stability necessary to perfect security.

Fifth. Politics means changes, and our railroad systems cannot prosper with the changes of policy resulting from party control.

Sixth. Vested rights should be preserved.

Seventh. Our Government now has all it can do to make both ends meet and prosper.

Eighth. It would bankrupt any nation to saddle on it a debt equal to the value of our railroads.

Ninth. We have no money with which to buy.

Tenth. It is not policy.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman, my friend seems to have laid down ten reasons why the Government should not own and con-

trol our railroads. Let us examine some of his objections, commencing with the last one. "It is not policy." This plea I most emphatically deny, and declare it is not only policy but is absolutely necessary to conserve the rights of all our people.

II. Policy! Why not, when railroad combinations and unjust transportation charges absorb the wealth of the producer?

III. Is it not policy to so transport the corn and wheat of Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, and all wheat- and corn-growing States that it is worth the raising?

IV. Corn to-day is practically worthless in the West, because of the cost of reaching a market.

V. Corn is burned for fuel where millions are suffering for bread.

VI. I have seen ice and wheat loaded at the same station, shipped by the same train, and taken to the same destination. Ice $12 per car, wheat $22 per car. Do you see any policy in this discrimination?

VII. I have seen live stock shipped to a certain point at $32 per car, and potatoes to the same point $76 per car. Where is your policy?

VIII. Ex-Postmaster General Wanamaker, in his report, says: "The cost on an average for drawing mail cars is 20 cents per mile; this is extortion." If it is extortion to draw a mail car at 20 cents per mile, what is it to charge 60 people who occupy a passenger coach $1.80 per mile?

IX. If it is extortion to charge 20 cents in the mail department it is evident that a coach full of people cannot cost over one-third of a cent per mile, each individual.

X. Foreigners own two-thirds of all our railroads, and they do not pay any taxes.

XI. If the Government can handle the post-office system with eighty thousand different offices, and account for every penny and every stamp, furnishing our people with two-cent postage and possibly one-cent postage, then they can handle any public business.

XII. It is not necessary to buy all the roads at one time. Buy one, and if the owners will not set a satisfactory price, build a great transcontinental road and enter into competition with other roads.

XIII. The people have a right to build, if they choose, and enter competition for their own profit.

XIV. As for bankrupting our Government, even the scarecrow ten billion dollars is not a deterrent. The roads are not entirely paid for, and if necessary the Government could assume the debt and use the receipts, just as they are now used.

XV. By actual figures the debt of all our roads is now $10,250,000,000, and on that basis it will require only $250,000,000 to give value received.

XVI. The Government would be in just as good a position to meet obligations as it is to-day.

XVII. Now let us see about the politics. We would have no politics whatever. I would deny to any administration the power to appoint even postmasters. The people of a city or town are capable of electing every officer that is to govern them. The post office would then be taken from politics and left to the people. All station agents, superintendents, roadmasters, could be elected by the people. Establish a perfect civil service and there would be no politics in railroading. Industry, good behavior, and competency are the requisites for promotion now and the same system can be continued.

XVIII. As to vested rights: no man has a right to stand in the way of public improvements. "Right of Eminent Domain" was established years ago. It is a right to appropriate private property for the public use on compensation.

XIX. There is only one solution to this question. The people must own the railroads, otherwise the railroads will own the people.

XX. Have we not now controverted every point raised by our opponents?

First. It is policy.

Second. The railroads pay their own debts.

Third. There is no risk of bankruptcy to the people.

Fourth. There are no absolute vested rights against the interests of the people.

Fifth. The system is not too immense, for we can build or buy one road and begin competition immediately.

Sixth. We would avoid strikes, for no strike ever existed against the Government.

Seventh. There would be no political patronage in the system.

Eighth. Promotion would be governed by ability.

Ninth. All officers and employees would be elected by the people.

Tenth. Reasonable rates of transportation would be a result.

Eleventh. An additional revenue to the Government would be secured.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: My friend is basing many of his estimates upon imagination, but for a people to control and regulate this wonderful railroad system, meet expenses, pay revenue to the Government, and not be interested in the actual money invested, is an absolute impossibility.

II. If an industry is not managed by those who have put their money in the business it will never be a success.

III. The people will have no money invested, individually, and in their lack of interest in the details they will not be carried out.

IV. Railroads do not pay in the United States, even with my friends' extortionate rates.

V. As proof that they do not, see the receiverships that have controlled more than three-fourths of them in the last fifteen years.

VI. If three cents a mile, and freight in proportion, does not pay, how how can one-third cent a mile, and freight in proportion, pay?

VII. The idea of allowing the people to elect their railroad men is simply preposterous. Everybody knows that anybody can be

elected by the people when the people are worked upon properly, and to manage a railway system according to the whims of a caucus is not true government.

VIII. A system of railways must be managed by those who have been educated to the business, and are known to be thorough and competent.

IX. The post-office system is not a parallel. Its business is simply clerical. The postmaster orders stamps, sells them, remits money, and accounts for those unsold. Each post office keeps an account which must balance. The carrying of the mails is a division in which bids are usually made, or arrangements made with railroad companies.

X. I readily approve of our opponents' plan of going slow. Buy one road first and work up.

XI. Again we say, it is not policy.

XII. It is too immense.

XIII. It is impossible.

SECTION XI.

QUESTION.

Ought the United States to have annexed Hawaii?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. As this is a question of considerable importance, and has been discussed politically, it is right for us to hold a debate in order to further enlightenment on the subject.

II. Hawaii is the name now generally used in speaking of the Sandwich Islands.

III. These islands lie in the Indian Ocean, nearly three thousand miles from San Francisco, and are in about the same latitude as the West Indies, being a little south of the Tropic of Cancer.

IV. The inhabitants are Kanakas, Americans, and Japanese. The government was a republic managed by Americans.

V. The islands have about seventy thousand inhabitants.

VI. The climate is the finest in the world. The thermometer seldom rises above 80°, or falls below 68°.

VII. Sugar cane grows to the greatest perfection known. It sounds almost incredible, but a yield of ten tons to the acre is not uncommon.

VIII. By annexation we have secured a valuable colony. It opens avenues for investments, for emigration, for expansion of business, and for maritime benefits.

IX. We need all their products. We need their sugar, their tropical fruits, and above all we need their trade.

X. With growing interests in China, Japan, and the Philippines we need a station by the wayside that is American. For this reason alone they become a valuable acquisition.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Annexation was purely a speculative policy. It was opening a great mine for favoritism, for office-seekers, for securing franchises, for monopolies.

II. The people of those islands had all the

benefits that could accrue through a free intercourse of trade.

III. We took all their products and got in return nearly all their trade.

IV. They were not a barbarous nation. They owned their own public works. Even postal service was adopted. Education was good, government pure, and the people happy.

V. With possessions beyond our immediate territory we establish a system that is un-American. It requires an army and navy to protect every island thus acquired. With Hawaii a colony we must protect and defend it.

VI. By this acqusition we lose $9,000,000 a year of revenue. Is it worth this price when we had all there was before annexation?

VII. If the burdens are greater than the benefits, then surely annexation is not a benefit. If it is a speculative scheme, then it is an injustice to the Hawaiian people.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Distance should have no weight if benefits would result from annexation.

II. If there was danger from the jealousy of foreign countries, we might stop to consider, but there is none. Hawaii is American, and Hawaii of her own will volunteered to come.

III. If we lose in revenue we must gain in a reduced price or competition, and the consumer gets the profits.

IV. The benefits all come our way. It is only another State for our internal commerce. It is our internal commerce that makes us strong and powerful.

V. We get in return more than value received. If American government is good here, it will be good there, for it becomes a part of us.

VI. Now that it is a possession American capital will build up its wonderful possibilities, and American benefits will be the results.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Our domain needs no expansion: we do not need Cuba, we do not need the Philippines, we do not need Hawaii.

II. We have as much as we can do to man-

age our affairs at home, without traveling three thousand miles afield.

III. It means army, navy, money. No colonial possession is of account in war, for it is so much more territory to cover. Spain was at a disadvantage, and we, a nation without colonies, made the first strike at Spain's possessions in another hemisphere. Were we at war with Russia, Germany, France, or England, their first move would be to attack Porto Rico, Hawaii, our possessions in the East Indies. We must scatter our fleets to protect our possessions.

IV. If those people were oppressed as were those in Cuba there might be excuses, but they were fairly well off.

V. The question of suffrage may cause vexation, just as has been the case in Utah.

VI. The less we have to do with acquisition of territory in the future, the more compact will be our government, and the less the danger of dissensions. Hawaii was not taken because we could see any benefits, but solely to accommodate Claus Spreckels, the sugar king, and other Americans who see individual profits.

SECTION XII.

QUESTION.

Is the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum practicable in this country?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: The question which comes to us for discussion this evening is, Whether it is advisable for this government, as a whole, or in parts by States, to refer to the people for adoption or rejection any or all bills passed by Congress or by our State legislatures. The question, while it is known as the Initiative and Referendum, means simply referring any particular bill to the people for their approval by direct vote. It is no new proposition, nor is it a new experiment to us. It is as old as is the Constitution that governs us. We find it embodied in the plan for all amendments to our constitutions, and although seldom employed, yet it remains as a guard and guide to alter or amend. Many

regard the question as new, and do not realize that it is a part of our form of government.

What we now desire in this argument is to prove that a wiser, purer, and better form of legislation can be established by referring all important bills to the people, if they demand it. We claim that if it is necessary to refer an amendment of the Constitution to the people, or the people's representatives, then it is equally necessary to so refer any great question.

It is not presumed that every bill shall be thus referred, but only those which may arouse the opposition of the people and the demand from them the right to reject. If by this vote the bill be sustained, it is proof that the majority rules; but if rejected, it becomes a proof that laws cannot be passed if in opposition to interests of the people. It is not a complicated measure, nor is it in any manner calculated to handicap those elected to frame and execute legislation. It is only a reserved right of the people to have a voice in deciding what the laws shall be that govern them. As they are the acknowledged masters, they should to have the opportunity of declaring their wills.

In order more clearly to define our arguments, I will specify some of the reasons why the question should prevail:

I. The first principle in this question is one of pure democracy, whereby any important public proposition may be presented to the people for their approval before it can become a law.

II. It holds Congress or State legislatures in subjection to the will of the people, and gives to the people, at all times, the right to veto or compel the adoption of a bill.

III. By the Referendum an unjust law cannot be enacted if it is displeasing to the people.

IV. By the Initiative unjust legislation can be repealed, or a particular question can be enacted into law.

V. It will be a means of preventing that monstrous system of lobbying which has so many times debauched legislatures in the interest of classes and corporations.

VI. It will prevent the use of money influencing the passage of a measure, since nothing would be assured by obtaining the vote of a legislature, as the question may be called up by the people and annulled.

VII. Even partisan politics can be set aside.

VIII. It will compel all action in the interest of the people, and do away with special privileges.

IX. It will prevent bribery, so prevalent now in influencing our law-makers.

X. It will compel more careful judgment in presenting and passing upon bills.

XI. By it the people will become educated upon all public questions, for with them rests the responsibility for all enactments.

XII. By it interest in government will not stop at the election of legislators. The people will watch every move made, and thus stand as a guard, compelling an honorable and just exercise of authority.

XIII. As government is now instituted, the legislature, or Congress, is the arbiter, and its laws are final, there being no appeal from the enactment of any bill or contract that may have been passed by it, except executive veto.

XIV. A republic means government of the people, by the people, and for the people. With the Referendum it becomes in fact what it only too often is but in name.

XV. The Initiative will complete the system of a pure republic by giving the people power to demand the passage of a certain bill, or to repeal one.

XVI. Both these questions—Initiative and Referendum—are legislative principles in Switzerland. The people appreciate their power, and law-makers seldom pass a bill not in sympathy with the interests of the people.

XVII. Politicians are opposed to this question, as it will curtail their power and influence.

XVIII. It will compel politicians to be honest, otherwise they will have no power with the people.

XIX. In our present system a bill, when referred to a committee, may never be reported back for action. With the Initiative the people compel action.

XX. In countries where this proposal is a law, very few bills are referred to the people for direct vote, as the legislators are very careful in following out the wishes of their constituents.

XXI. In these countries every law-maker studies how best to serve his country. Classes or corporations are not considered, few laws are passed, but only those that

are needed. Bribery and partisan politics are unknown. The law-makers are always economical, as the people closely watch the volume of taxation. There are no boodlers, for there are no opportunities. Franchises are not voted to corporations, but reserved for the benefit of the people. Public transportation is in the hands of the government, and not in those of private millionaires. The people vote their own taxation, their own rates of transportation, their own charges for express, for telegraphing, for telephones, for water and light. In fact, every form of vested rights is in the hands of the people.

XXII. What is practicable in Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia, and other countries can be so also in the United States. The bribing of councils and legislatures to donate lands, money, and franchises could not be possible under this system.

XXIII. The Referendum avoids all these faults, and if blame exists it must rest upon the people themselves.

XXIV. It is not a new question, as many suppose, but was adopted with our Constitution, and is in the constitutions of the several States.

XXV. All amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as proposed by Congress, are referred to the States, and if ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures are in effect. In the same article (Article V.) the Initiative is proposed, by compelling action on any amendment by the demand of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States.

XXVI. We, therefore, have as an example for the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum this Article V. of our own Constitution.

XXVII. In the several States amendments to the Constitution are referred to a direct vote of the people, thus placing this instrument above the reach of any Congress, legislature, class, corporation, or political party.

XXVIII. What is true of amendments to a constitution should be true of the passage of any law.

XXIX. If it is proper to protect a constitution, it is equally proper to protect a people.

XXX. If it works in perfect harmony in adopting a constitutional amendment, it will work equally well in adopting any law.

XXXI. It will cast no reflections upon our law-makers, for as long as they do the will of the people they are recognized as true and trusty servants; but to attempt to legislate against the people's interest gives to the people the right to veto, or annul.

XXXII. If the people have the right to do or undo legislation, very few bills will be presented that would not be good laws, as the people cannot be bribed, nor are they ever far from just.

XXXIII. In a summing up of particulars I wish to say: the adoption of Initiative and Referendum will prevent corrupt legislation, and leave every law at the pleasure of the people. If the law is good, they will not ask to pass judgment upon it, but if they think it is bad the Referendum will prevent its passage.

XXXIV. The people may not always be right, but if by any act of their own they are made to suffer, it is natural to assume that they will immediately avail themselves of their privileges under the initiative to repeal the law they find obnoxious.

XXXV. If we desire to insure equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we can

obtain it from no other source. The Referendum refers to the people, and the Initiative is the right to demand the passage of any law. They are framed with and are a part of our Constitution, and should be extended to all law.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is true that the questions of the Initiative and Referendum are not new questions to us. When the framers of our Constitution studied the wants of our country and its citizens, they desired the fullest benefit for all. They gave us the Constitution as the fundamental law of government, and they surrounded that instrument with the strongest safeguards that they could devise. They raised it above the possible whim of any Congress or party. If a change was to be made, three-fourths of all the people were called upon to make that change, thereby guaranteeing a permanent Constitution—or as nearly so as was practicable and have it capable of conforming to the will of the people.

The power of enacting working laws of a country should not be hampered, otherwise it would be almost impossible to institute a change. The people seldom desire a change. They become accustomed to a particular system, and do not take kindly to radical changes. The mass of the people never make any progress. It is the agitation of questions by advanced thinkers that impels the advancement of a nation. At first these thinkers are denounced as dreamers, theorists, and the like. But one by one progressive ideas are accepted, enacted into laws, and the people are forced to recognize them as a part of a new government. Such improvement in legislation could never be instituted if left to the direct action of the people themselves.

The founders of our Constitution builded as near perfection as it was possible. We have our Executive, our Legislature, and our Judiciary. In order to distribute fairly the powers of government among the several States, so that each sovereign division could be an equal factor, they elected the President by the States according to their population, the Senate by the States without regard to population, the House of Representatives by

the people, and the Judiciary, or Supreme Court, by appointment by the President for life. No fairer apportionment of power could be devised and reserve to each State its full identity in the great confederation. To alter in any way this admirable combination of nation, States, and people would be to disturb the Constitution that has guided us for more than one hundred years, and which should be sacredly preserved.

The argument that Switzerland has adopted the Initiative and Referendum is no proof that it is suited to the wants of the American people. One might say the Russian system would be better still, and thus save the expenses of all legislation, giving the power to govern to a Czar. The fact is, neither of these systems would suit us. Switzerland is too slow, while Russia is too despotic. We are an unique people. We have no desire to become other than was outlined by the Constitution. We elect honorable men to enact laws. If any prove faithless, we remove them and elect others. If we fail to secure good legislation we alone are to blame. If we want certain laws enacted, we seek to elect men pledged to carry out our desires. The whole

system is democratic, conservative, and just. If bribery penetrates our halls of legislation we have the power to remove and punish the guilty. We have the right to legislate and to repeal. If the people are not sufficiently protected by laws, it is in their power to elect those who will institute the needed reforms.

As we are now constituted we are the foremost nation on the globe. We have the greatest resources, the greatest ingenuity, the greatest ability to perfect and to perform, the greatest advancement in science, the greatest mechanical development, and the greatest ambition to achieve success. We have the most extensive system of internal commerce, the greatest wealth, the greatest freedom of speech and press; and, above all, we have a people who are most earnest in their devotion to government, loyal in their patriotism, and most earnest in their demands for absolute justice.

Can any country show a better condition of all classes than we? Can any country boast of a greater freedom of conscience, or more liberty of speech and thought? Can any boast of achievements that are higher, grander, or more inspiring? Why is this?

Because we have the simplest form of government. Because our people have confidence in our government. Because we have confidence in the officers elected to make and enforce the laws. Because through our system of education we are taught to understand that the most humble may become the most exalted; that for the poor there are many avenues to wealth, and that the honest and industrious are always in demand. With all these opportunities it is not an idle assertion when we say we have attained a position that needs no special powers to amend, no new innovations so drastic as the one proposed.

In protest against the affirmative of this question we will present the following objections:

I. It is not in keeping with our estimate of the best system of legislation.

II. Each question referred to the people for final action would be equivalent to another political campaign.

III. It is not wise, nor is it good political economy, to institute any change that will continue the excitement of politics.

IV. While politics and parties are constituted as they are, it is unwise to initiate a

system which can only be decided by party vote.

V. It is admitted by competent authority that any national campaign has a tendency to demoralize business, to injure trade, and intimidate the investment of capital, therefore all the politics that it is possible to avoid should by all means be avoided.

VI. What gives satisfaction to one people may not meet the approval of another.

VII. Switzerland is a small country, and, owing to the characteristics of the people, their government, like their commerce and industry, shows no advancement.

VIII. The wonderful progress of the United States is due to the equity of our law, to the privileges granted by law, to protection granted by tariff, to franchises, and to the encouragement of capital in investing in new enterprises.

IX. None of these benefits would accrue from a direct vote of the people.

X. It requires a progressive man to foresee the future, to anticipate opportunities, and to plan for a new system of commerce, of development, and to institute changes that will add to the happiness and prosperity of a

people. These men are found in our halls of legislation.

XI. The people never lead—they follow.

XII. It is the nature of all mankind, from the lowest savage to the most enlightened citizen, to create a leader and to follow him.

XIII. The claim that lobbying and bribery too often gain admittance and control legislation is no argument against our contention. If corruption is there, we are to blame for it. The voice of the people can strike down any and all abuses. The whole thing is in our own hands. We hold the power of election, and we can use it for good or for evil.

XIV. Whatever the people will is law, for law will emanate from the people's will.

XV. It is through this will that we have no need for the Referendum. We elect our officers, and they enact the laws we demand.

XVI. With us this demand is the Initiative of the question.

XVII. The people's wishes are enforced without recourse to a campaign and its attendant excitement. It is the Initiative and Referendum in its best and simplest form.

XVIII. Our present system is the voice of

the constituents at home, through councils, protests, and petitions.

XIX. If we elect honest law-makers we will reap honest legislation, and our work is good.

XX. If we elect dishonest law-makers we will reap dishonest legislation, and our work is bad. In both cases it is our bargain, and we are to blame. The same can be said of direct action by the people.

XXI. The framers of our Constitution saw the results of any hasty action. They saw the danger of a sudden excitement of the people, and clothed their instrument of government so that no sudden motive could destroy, and still gave to the sober thought the full power to alter or amend.

XXII. With all these proofs of contentment, thrift, and prosperity; with all the rights of vested power, both in the law-makers and the people; with perfect security of the people, their prosperity, and their happiness, we must ask this jury not to consider this question as a desirable amendment to our system of politics.

SECTION XIII.

QUESTION.

Should the United States Government build good roads?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—Of all the economic questions which have interested the American people none is of more vital importance than the question of good roads, and none has received so little attention. This is indeed strange when we consider the vastness of the network of highways and the amount of labor expended on these avenues of inland transportation. We legislate for tariffs because industries demand protection. We appropriate millions upon millions to improve navigation, in order that the product of the soil and the mines, which are often freighted twenty, thirty, fifty, or one hundred miles in wagons, may find the most economical means of reaching their destination. Cities are bonded that streets may be paved, docks be built, and every means instituted that will

lessen the labor or cost of transportation; but the country roads, the most important avenues of traffic, so essential to the prosperity of the farmer, are practically ignored by national, State, and county governments. These highways are the property of the people, and as such should come under the general jurisdiction of all the people. As they are now managed, however, in most localities the citizens vote a labor appropriation, and manifest no further interest, leaving the farmers or village residents who so elect, to work out their tax on the road. So much road is assigned to so much property, and when the time comes to "go on the road," the worthy farmer and his sons actually try to see how little they can do and still satisfy the overseer. It frequently happens that, when the time arrives for those so choosing to "work out" their road tax, it is made a social drinking bout, to the detriment of the work supposed to be done.

The overseer goes among the residents of his district and warns them to appear at a certain date to work on the road. If any farmer is behind in his work, the good-natured overseer usually sets a time which is more con-

venient. Having performed the duty of calling his neighbors out, he plans as to the best place to commence to plow, dig, and scrape in order to make the meanest piece of road in the district when the next rain comes. If the district is blessed with a "gravel pit," and there is any time not credited when they have finished piling loose dirt in the center of the road, then they will draw gravel. But usually this is left until the next year; so that everyone traveling that road for the next twelve months may follow the example of Mark Tapley—and look pleasant under trying circumstances.

Every person who has traveled one hundred miles into the country knows full well that the farmer does not know how to make a road. As the latter realizes his inability, he naturally says to himself: "Well, here goes the time. I know the labor is thrown away, and I don't care a continental whether I do my share or not." The fact is, road-making is a science—a business in itself, and to properly apply that science considerable costly apparatus is required. The farmer has no stone-crusher to prepare stones for a bed, and if he draws gravel he is likely to leave right on top all the big rocks he may

find—just where they are most convenient to come in contact with the wheels of a passing vehicle. He has become so accustomed to the muddy, miry, uneven passage-ways called roads, that effort at improvement is usually looked upon by him as time wasted from farm work. I have known of farmers who rather enjoyed the discomfiture of city people whose dainty carriages suffered from the roughness of these roads. It is fun for him. He has hit those same rocks for forty years, and now he laughs at the perturbation of the city man—whom he despises.

Now, my friends, we have tried this system for a hundred years, and in many places there is scarcely any improvement. Of course certain localities have done fairly well, but in general it is mud when it rains, dust when it is dry, and projecting rocks in every place in either event. Is it not time we turned over a new leaf? The farmer is a failure at road-making, and should be superseded by those who have learned the business. In the early days of the Republic the general government built many thoroughfares for its own convenience, and called them military roads. A system of grading was adopted which has

stood in many places for more than one hundred years. In Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin we find these old military roads in almost perfect condition. But what can we say of those that have been constructed since? Ride over them early in the spring and there will be nothing for me to say. You will occupy all the time in musing upon the good judgment of the farmer who dumped a load of rock here, a load of clay there, and so on. But come upon a territorial road and your good-nature returns, and you feel grateful to that long-ago governmental construction.

The farmer knows how to raise potatoes, cabbage, wheat, oats, corn, beef, pork, cotton, and tobacco, but he does not know how to lay the foundation of a good road. He is not wholly to blame, for he has no tools to work with except the plow, scraper, and spade. He may have material enough and to spare, and yet cannot properly apply it. It is no uncommon occurrence to see farmers actually plowing up the center of a road, turning the furrows toward the middle, continuing for a distance of thirty feet or more, and then grading the sides into the center

raising a mound of loose dirt two and even three feet high. And this is called road-building, and is done year after year. They do not seem to care what results they produce, but only that they get credited with time, and the tax is "worked out."

To show you how lightly the value of good roads is held, I will cite to you an instance of a prominent farmer living a mile and half from a little village in the southern part of Wisconsin. The farmer was quite wealthy, and had the only gravel pit in the district; but because of trouble over drawing gravel he refused to give or sell another load, and for forty years he traveled over that road every day, and sometimes two or three times a day. When it rained the mud was "hub deep," and it would take him at such times two hours to drive to the village and back. Under government control the gravel pit would have been condemned, paid for, and its contents appropriated for public use.

I have given you some idea of the farmer's easy method of paying his road tax, but place these same public highways under government supervision, and every man, woman, and child becomes interested in the con-

struction. Every farmer will petition the authorities to build by his house, and woe be to the contractor who seeks to slight his contract. As such work will then be borne by public taxation, the same as the appropriations for our rivers and harbors, the farmer becomes doubly interested, and a universal clamor will arise to have perfected what he has stumbled over for fifty years. Just pass a bill authorizing Congress to appropriate $50,000,000 to build good roads, and you will see the liveliest lot of converts to good-road advocates that this nation has ever seen. The six million farmers will rise up as one man and point out the most suitable places for improvement.

Under our present system what seems to be everybody's business is nobody's. There is no one to take the lead, no systematic plan of campaign, no apparatus to work with, and consequently no ambition to do properly what the farmers know they cannot do; but when the way is opened by government authority they will appreciate what the new proposition means, and will be ready to vote that the general government should build good roads.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I have been somewhat amused at the flippant remarks of my worthy opponent, as he scores the farmer for plowing, digging, and scraping away, trying to make good roads. My friends, it seems to me that it is a gross injustice to libel him in this manner. He certainly would not do it before election ; then why should he after his vote is cast ? The speaker takes the ground that the panacea for all ills is to fly to the general government, lay the case before that authority, and invoke its aid. He doesn't seem to realize that there is a limit to what governments can do, for we all know it requires money to accomplish such a work as we speak of, and that some form of taxation must be levied on the property of the people to raise that money. We all know that at certain seasons of the year rains and floods are prevalent, that these elements often produce much damage, the highways suffering with the rest, yet because of this are we to petition government to so construct that rain, snow, or frost will do no harm ? As well might railroads ask for assistance

to rebuild their bridges, culverts, or their ruined tracks when the same storms have wrought destruction. As well might vessel owners ask to have government guarantee a safe voyage. It is true the wagon road is a public highway, in which all are interested. The same is true of the railroad, the oceans, the lakes, rivers, and canals. But the wagon road, having been established for the benefit of the farmers, belongs more especially to them than to any other people.

Once embark in governmental construction, and there will be no end to the expense that will be incurred. States, cities, counties, and towns will eagerly strive to secure their share of the appropriation. It will be a continuous struggle among politicians to see how far they can get their hands into the public crib. That there is a chance to reform some of the practices that are now adopted by farmers may be true. In fact it is true. This reformation, if you wish to so call it, is steadily going on, and rest assured when the farmers see what is best to do, he will do it. The illustration of the man who drove through mud for forty years is no argument at all. It only shows the revengeful temper of an indi-

vidual, and we find just such exhibitions everywhere when men spite themselves to revenge themselves upon somebody else.

The comparison of government appropriations for the improvement of canals with road appropriations is not parallel. Improvements to navigation are wholly national, and could not be undertaken by any other authority. They are the national highways, competing really with corporate and private-owned railroads, greatly to the advantage of shippers. They are the cheapest of all our forms of transportation. These appropriations carry their blessings direct to the farm, as well as to cities and their industries.

Some of the objections I would raise against government construction of country roads are as follows :

It is not practicable.

It is not in the line of government duties.

It is too expensive for one department.

It would be the means of creating many new offices, and consequently adding to the now large army of office-holders.

It could not be equally adjusted.

It would tend to dishonest contracts.

It would not be a legitimate expense of government.

I might thus continue with many other objections against the system. Taxation is already so high that it would be a positive injury to add any further burden to the expenses of our national government. This objection alone is sufficient to cry down the proposition and consign it root and branch to oblivion.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—The speaker who has just given such an exhaustive list of reasons why government aid should not be invoked, does not furnish a better system. He admits that present conditions ought to be improved, but does not substitute any way to make the needed improvement, while we demonstrate an actual necessity for the general government to step in and build for the benefit of all—something that the present system has utterly failed to accomplish. If our worthy opponent could prove how the farmer could profitably apply the needed labor to establish a system of improvement,

then we might consider it unwise to ignore a local system and make application to the general government. The experience of the last one hundred years demonstrates that it is not in the province of a handful of farmers to so apply their labor in road building as to reap the benefits that ought to accrue from it. My worthy opponent admits this, but is unwilling to adopt the only method that has been shown to be practicable in the past, and is successful at the present time. It has been demonstrated time and again that government is the proper authority to construct good roads. All agricultural journals testify to hundreds of millions of dollars being lost annually by the farmer because of the extra expense in hauling his produce over rough and inefficient highways. They show by practical experience the daily loss by the wear and tear of the machinery of transportation, the small loads necessitated, the loss of animal flesh, and the loss of time to the farmer. They compare the cost of moving one thousand tons a distance of a mile on poor roads against the same number of tons on good ones. This estimate shows that the farmer has expended more than twice

as much energy during the entire year in the wasteful and extravagant manner which he is now compelled to adopt in transacting his business.

It may seem strange to many of us why the farmer should plod along in this manner when a demand from him would institute a reform that would not only add value to his acres, but increased profits to his products. But once point out the way, establish one good road in a county, and my word for it the solution of good roads is accomplished. If, therefore, we legislate for tariffs to protect and build up industries, or subsidize shipping in order to stimulate the building of vessels and the carrying of our own commerce, we should not ignore the duty of government to continue farther and enter into some form of an agreement with the country to so improve its highways that a part of this vast waste by the rough means of transportation can be saved. One demand is just as broad and just as long as the other. If it is good expenditure of money to assist navigation by the improvement of our public waterways, then it is equally good to render assistance in the improvement of our public highways.

The object of government aid in any form whatever is to add to the wealth, peace, and prosperity of the country. If farmers, working as they do, cannot accomplish the desired object, then let the strong arm of government come to the rescue and perform under a systematic plan what single hands cannot do.

As my opponent sees fit to enumerate a list of objections against government aid, I will advance a few particulars why the affirmative of this question should prevail:

First. He says it is not practicable, when all the experience of road making demonstrates that it is practicable. Ancient nations saw the necessity of building public thoroughfares, not only for the benefit of the people, but for the quick and sure transportation of their armies. In those days there were no railroads, and governments invested in the building of permanent avenues of transportation through the country. Some of these ancient roads are to-day in good condition, after a lapse of hundreds of years—yes, even above two thousand years. Rome built all the roads that led to that great city. The Normans in their conquest of England built thoroughfares which stand to-day as evidence of what proper construction will do. The Canadian government built the main lines through her dominions. Germany, Holland, Russia, and nearly all of the countries of Europe build with government aid. Then why should the

greatest country on earth hesitate when its people, through poor roads, are actually losing billions of dollars?

Second. It is decidedly a duty of government to serve the best interests of the people.

Third. If it was not too expensive for ancient nations to build for the stability of empire, nor for the modern nations of Europe to do the same thing, then it cannot be too expensive for the United States government to enact laws looking to the betterment of this condition.

Fourth. We need not worry over the injection of politics in the building of good roads any more than in the building of dykes on the Mississippi River or harbors on the Great Lakes.

Fifth. We do not seem to have any trouble in adjusting the proper expenditure of any other appropriation; then why worry over our appropriation for good roads?

Sixth. There will be no more danger in contracting for the building of one mile of country road than in building one block of pavement in a city. We will let the contract to the lowest bidder, and rest assured the farmer will not tolerate a slipshod execution of that contract. In fact, there is not one point raised by our opponent that will stand the test of careful analysis.

We do not expect to ask the government to build all the roads of the country, but we do insist that it shall establish a permanent foundation for the main thoroughfare. We

do not expect government will do it all in one year; but we do want it to begin this great work, and to continue at it until all main roads of the country are finished, thus eventually saving the billions of dollars that are now lost by this needless cost of transportation.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—It is not usual in debates for one speaker to taunt the opposition for not producing something better in the form of law when protesting against arguments they believe are not practical and against the best interest of the commonwealth. Because we say the general government should not embark in the business of building roads, we are reminded that we do not suggest a better system, and consequently the question is theirs. Had the question declared that government building was the best means of construction, then the opposition might demand that we suggest a better system; but such is not the case. It simply asks the question, Should the general government build good roads? If our opponents insist that we shall suggest a better

means of construction than to depend upon the general government, we can accommodate them. Possibly we may find in this demand arguments that will fully demonstrate the inadvisability of government control.

First. Drop the system of "working" out the tax levied against country property, and substitute a money tax, and you immediately create a reform.

Second. Establish a system of contract work, and pay for it in money.

Third. Let each county assess the tax to be raised, and see that there is competition for expending it.

Fourth. Abolish the district system, and leave it in the hands of the town board to designate where work shall be done, but establish a uniform method of construction.

Fifth. Legislate for the right to buy gravel, stone, or any necessary material found in the district.

Sixth. If in the construction of good roads the cost is found to be burdensome to the farming community, then establish a system of appropriation from the general government, based upon a fixed percentage of the amount of tax raised in each town. Suppose we say a town will raise by taxation two thousand dollars for the building of good roads, then let the general government appropriate one thousand dollars in assistance. The system would equalize the cost of construction among the whole people. The plan would be simple, efficient, reasonable, and when properly adjusted would not only satisfy the people, but would satisfy our opponents who now ask for a definite plan.

SECTIONS XIV AND XV.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That tariff for revenue only is of greater benefit to the people of the United States than a protective tariff.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: The question for us to discuss this evening is one that has never been settled by the American people. Elections may decide either one way or another for the time being, but the question survives the conflict just as serenely and peacefully as though it had never been put to the test.

Resolved, That tariff for revenue only is better than tariff for protection. That we must have a revenue for the support of the Government, and that it must be largely from duties on imports, is undoubted. Until we wholly change the means of obtaining revenue we must resort to tariff laws.

II. In making tariff laws shall we consider the good of the whole people or that of a few?

III. Tariff for protection means that the duty on imported articles shall be such that the domestic article can be sold at a remunerative price in competition with the article imported.

IV. Tariff of whatever kind is a tax. The consumer pays, in the cost of the article, the profits and the tariff.

V. High tariff produces monopolies.

VI. Monopolies set prices to suit themselves.

VII. Tariff for revenue only is a judicious arrangement of the tariff by which the Government receives its dues without imposing burdens upon the people.

VIII. It places the tax where it is felt the least.

IX. There are two classes of revenue; one on imported merchandise, the other on articles manufactured in this country. The one is called customs duty, the other internal revenue.

X. The internal revenue is the tax paid for the privilege of manufacturing certain articles, such as wines, liquors, beer, and tobacco.

XI. Protection has been the shibboleth of political parties since the foundation of the republic, and the argument has been that we must support our infant industries; that we must be protected from outside competition. As this cry has existed for more than one hundred years, it is about time to ascertain when these infants will be able to walk alone.

XII. Tariff for revenue is not free trade.

XIII. A just tariff is not laid so much upon the necessities of life as upon the luxuries.

XIV. If a protected article is a necessity, it is an injustice to the consumer to place an excessive duty on it.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: One very important statement has been made by the affirmative, and that is that protection has been a watchword since the foundation of the republic. I thank him for it. Yes, it has been the watchword since Washington established it; since the Whigs supported it; since Lincoln demanded it, and since McKinley won on it.

II. I will also agree with my friend that a protective tariff is for the benefit of the manufacturer. This is what we demand. We want him prosperous, we want him to employ labor, we want him to be able to pay a reasonable compensation for that labor.

III. We don't want him tied hand and foot in competition with foreign products. We don't want the foreigner to supply our markets. We don't want to compel our labor to compete with the pauper labor of Europe or Asia. We don't want prices so low that we will become bankrupt.

IV. A tariff for revenue only would disregard our great manufacturing interests.

V. Protection promotes industry and assists the production at home of all manufactured articles. It insures the success of our great iron industries, our cotton and woolen mills, our mines of coal and iron, of copper and lead; our lumber industries. It is of benefit to mining interests, to transportation by land and water, and to labor.

VI. It means prosperity, employment, good wages, and general confidence.

VII. It means the general circulation of

money, the investment of capital, and the stability of enterprises.

VIII. It means support for the workingman, prosperity for the husbandman, and good times for all.

IX. It means that capital will establish industries, industries will employ labor, labor will consume products, and products will be raised by the farmer.

X. It means an increased demand for the farmer's wheat, potatoes, beef, mutton, poultry, butter, and eggs.

XI. It means an enlarged market for wool, for cotton, for corn, for machinery, and for everything on the ground or under the ground, from novelties and luxuries to staples and necessities.

XII. It means the establishment of beet-sugar factories until this country can produce all the sugar we consume.

XIII. These are the most important measures attributed to the system of a protective tariff. What more can we ask of a system, and why change it?

XIV. This argument is based upon the experience of the past. It is no wild or bold assertion. We have the facts and figures to

justify the assertions. We have the industries all over the country to prove their correctness, and now we have the verdict of the people to vindicate it.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: As our friend seems to be so sure of what it means to have high protection I will continue his list of items.

II. It means the multiplication of millionaires, the establishment of an aristocracy, the production of speculations, the combining of capital, the instituting of trusts, the control of output by monopolies, the overproduction of manufactured products, the failure of many, the bankruptcy of thousands, the suspension of banks, the subversion of energy. It will bring ruin, disaster, depression, and all the consequences arising from a false stimulation of business by a high protective tariff.

III. A high and unnatural tariff promises such profits that capital becomes wild with excitement, business is stimulated until the reaction comes, prices fall, and failure is the logical result.

IV. How does our friend like the continuation of the list? It is borne out by the actual experience of to-day.

V. We have had the era of much production, much speculation, much encouragement, and much failure.

VI. High protection exists to-day on many manufactured articles, and yet our opponents call it free trade.

VII. The country is paralyzed with overproduction. We must establish a tariff for revenue, and seek to restore confidence. Our industries must be placed on a solid foundation, and not on a basis of speculation and alleged protection.

VIII. Every undue stimulation must be followed by relaxation, which leaves the country in a worse condition than before.

IX. From these premises which is preferable: a steady and healthful growth in business, or prosperity where millions are made and depression follows?

X. It is an indisputable fact that millionaires are increasing and the poor are growing poorer.

XI. The call for a high tariff always comes from an industry that wants a bigger profit on its products.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: Our esteemed opponent is not very well posted in regard to the cause of our great financial depressions and business disasters. I will spare his feelings politically, but his additional list needs a few corrections.

II. He attributes the calamities he recites to protection of American manufactures. Let him read history a little further.

III. Four years ago we inaugurated a system of politics in which free trade predominated. We do not claim it was actual free trade, but its effect on the country and the capital that is the basis of business was the same as free trade. Mark the result! Confidence was lost, money became frightened, business was suspended, and failures and bankruptcies were the order of the day.

IV. You might just as well shoot a man as scare him to death. The business of the country, under tariff for revenue only, was just about frightened to death. We had had a campaign based on free wool, free clothing, free lumber, free sugar, free coal, free necessities; and is it any wonder our commerce be-

came stagnated, our manufactures quiescent, our markets dull, entailing decreased circulation of money, discharge of labor, withdrawal of capital from business, shrinkage of values, and all their attendant evils? It is true we passed free-trade laws affecting a few imports only, but that was enough to throw the country into a state of apprehension. It expected collapse, and it came. Now, I do not believe the past administration was much opposed to a real protective tariff, but the trouble existed in the belief that there was to be free trade, and every institution affected by free trade awaited its coming in sackcloth and ashes.

V. Free wool struck the sheep-raiser a blow, and his crop of fine wool was wiped out. The putting of lumber on the free list demoralized the northern pineries of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Free barley meant Canadian prices. Free potatoes also meant potatoes from Canada at the expense of the potato-raiser of New York and New England.

VI. I will ask the speaker if I shall go on and show him why, under a reasonable tariff on some things, the country suffered just the same as though there had been free trade?

He must bear in mind that business is very sensitive, and that money is cowardly. Now, let me explain the desire to establish beet-sugar factories and offer inducements by way of bounty or protection. With this assurance capital will invest; but put a doubt in the way, and not a dollar will be forthcoming. Money may gamble and speculate where chances are large, but when you come to a straight, legitimate business, it wants to know what the life of the institution is to be, and whether there is an assured prospect of a fair remuneration.

Affirmative.

FIFTH SPEAKER. — Mr. Chairman: The speaker need not fear to crack political nuts to our discomfiture, for he is cracking at the wrong end. Just consider the condition of politics before 1892. Speculation had sowed its seeds everywhere. Land booms were flourishing, money was loaned on wild-cat speculation, overproduction was glutting the market. Election came. People stopped in their mad flight to see "where they were at." They had got to the end of the rope. The

balloon was losing gas. They threw out more ballast, but the leak continued; business began to tremble, values to shrink, suspensions to follow, panics to ensue, banks to close, and our friend's long list of disasters followed just exactly as he gave them. Oh, no, my friend! it was not because of free trade or its prospects. It was the inevitable result of too much speculation and too much production.

Almost every form of industry was stimulated to excess by the inflation of prices. The home market was overloaded, and we simply had to hold on, and the moment the demand diminished there was the beginning of bankruptcy and ruin.

My friends must bear in mind that very little reduction on tariff was made on manufactured goods. Most of them now stand from thirty to forty-five per cent. It is true a good many articles that are called raw material were put on the free list, the object being to assist the manufacturer and give him an opportunity to compete with foreign manufacturers. Wool was made free for this purpose. Lumber was made free because our pine forests are held by large trusts, and there was no advantage in taxing the consumer two

dollars per thousand for the purpose of putting it into the pockets of these lumber barons. Our opponents said that Canadian lumber will come in and compete with ours. That is just what we want. We want Canada to give us some of her surplus pine, so that the farmer and the builder need not be at the mercy of our lumber combinations. We want lower prices for the necessaries of life. We want the poor workingman to be able to supply his family just as cheaply as possible. We want competition in these necessaries. We want flour, meats, clothing, sugar, and groceries just as cheaply as they can be furnished and sustain a healthy market. We do not want a system that makes millions for the few; we want more equality, more opportunities, and more prosperity.

SECTION XVI.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the Expensive Social Entertainments of the Wealthy are of more Benefit than Injury to the Country.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: The question we are about to discuss is of peculiar interest to more people than at first we would suppose.

I. A superficial view of the "Entertainments of the Wealthy" would lead us to raise protesting hands to Heaven, but a closer scrutiny would cause us to decide that they were worthy of all encouragement.

II. The Smiths are very wealthy, and can afford to give these expensive entertainments.

III. The money is not wasted. By every dollar used somebody is benefited.

IV. If the amount involved were to cripple business, or injure individual members of

society, then it would be wrong to use it for such a purpose.

V. As it is, the "givers of the feast" can spare it without injury to anyone, and this large sum goes to purchase somebody's material or pay for somebody's labor.

VI. Nothing is used in decorations that somebody does not produce.

VII. Nothing is taken, or exacted, from the poor.

VIII. It puts, say, one million dollars in circulation.

IX. A rich man builds a house that costs half a million. Every dollar is expended in labor and material. The stone is quarried, finished, and polished by a long line of workmen. The woodwork is sawed, carved, and decorated by labor. The iron is mined, smelted, and finished, and every part of the magnificent structure shows the handiwork of the artist, the mechanic, and the laborer. No part has diminished the world's supply of anything. It has only transformed nature's material through the art of man. The half a million has given employment to many, and the edifice represents an accumulation of paid labor. Has it not, indeed, been a benefit to

the city where it was built, and to every man and family which has been paid for labor thus put forth?

X. Other rich men follow suit, and by their expenditure of money, other laborers are fed and clothed.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: I am surprised that an intelligent man like the affirmative speaker should claim beneficial results to the community from such ostentatious excesses as we are discussing.

I. From his standpoint he sees only the immediate payment of money to those who make the preparations and adorn the occasion with such splendor. Just here he stops: money has been expended by a rich man; someone has been paid for his time, and consequently the entertainment has been a benefit.

II. Let me ask my opponent what is the moral effect upon the people.

III. Have the rich the right wantonly to squander their wealth when millions of their fellow-beings are in want?

IV. Men who are in want become dissatis-

fied and a bitter feeling springs up against the rich.

V. Plutocratic extravagance breeds anarchy.

VI. It encourages extravagance in others who cannot afford the expense.

VII. It fosters social distinctions.

VIII. It tends to the introduction of a pseudo-aristocracy.

IX. Business must ultimately pay the penalty. All wealth is an accumulation of labor. If this accumulation is used to foment discord, then it becomes a duty to denounce the modern imitators of Lucullus.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: Our brother who has just yielded the floor seems to regard our intelligence as weak in sustaining the affirmative of this question. In the first place he does not recognize the right of an individual to spend a portion of his surplus wealth as his fancy may dictate, when such fancy does not cause him to break the laws or outrage the feelings of his fellow-citizens.

I. Take the case of the usual "Four Hun-

dred" festivities. Suppose that a man dresses in the height of fashion. Suppose that a woman decks herself with costly jewels and flowers proportionately more costly still. As long as the bills are paid, it is purely a question of taste, and is it republican equality if A. is to dictate to B. as to his personal expenditures?

II. Some orators challenge the moral effect of these vast expenditures. Why, Mr. Chairman, should a line be drawn at five hundred thousand dollars? Thousands of families are equally culpable in proportion to their means. A feast that costs twenty-five dollars may produce more real loss of manhood, more loss of self-respect, and more distress than is caused by the Smiths' "orgies," as the critics fancifully style them.

III. Men in want usually curse the more fortunate.

IV. It is human nature to form classes. They always have and always will exist. Even labor has its classes.

V. My friend says lavish social entertainments breed anarchy. Anarchy is a condition only existing when labor is idle, or poorly paid. Full employment of labor is the pre-

ventive of anarchy. The expenditure of the rich is what pays labor. It may be in the form of railroad corporations, extensive business enterprises, or famous parties or balls.

VI. It takes wealth to employ labor.

VII. Do our negative friends censure the outlay of the Fourth of July, of Christmas, or of Thanksgiving? Then why blame those of other times and places? In these cases all join in the frolic and spend their money freely. In the "society" case it is one individual who plays the host, and what harm is done?

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: No one with a clear conception of pure government can sanction a reckless squandering of wealth, no matter whether it be in public or private debauchery.

I. A profligate people must sooner or later meet with disaster, in both social and governmental circles.

II. The history of Babylon, of Rome, of the French revolution, all prove that extravagance in social life eventually leads to in-

temperance, licentiousness, idleness, and corruption, and as a people falls so falls the Government of the people.

III. It is a known fact that a diligent and frugal people is firm in principle, loyal to Government, and honest and true to its neighbors, while a people that has grown rich through the accident of birth or the favor of fortune, becomes haughty and aristocratic, reckless and dissipated, degenerate and unworthy.

IV. This is the vital difference between people educated to a useful life and those who seek only pleasure.

V. Without a great accumulation of wealth there can be no exhibitions of plutocratic ostentation. Without disregard of law there can be no corruption, and without artificial classes there can be no unpleasant social distinctions.

VI. The poor depend upon the wealthy for labor and employment. When the rich do not recognize the rights of the poor, then class distinctions commence, dissatisfaction arises, and revolution is the only means of rescue from the resulting dilemma.

SECTION XVII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the hypocrite is a more despicable character than the liar.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: The question we are to discuss to-night is one of great importance, as it deals with two of the worst characteristics existing in social life—hypocrisy and mendacity. The former refers to the side of life that never intentionally shows its true character, while the latter renders its victim unreliable for truth and veracity. If there is any one person, more than another, that is contemptible in the sight of any honest man or woman it is a hypocrite. A man may lie, but he still may have the essence of manhood when compared with him who, to your face, pretends to be what he is not. There are no redeeming traits in a hypocrite. He is at all times a snake in the grass, full of venom,

and you know not when he may strike. It was this class of men which was so severely rebuked by the Saviour:

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchers, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness.

"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves."

What stronger language could be used against the hypocrite than these sayings of our Saviour? Mr. Chairman, it would seem to me that this question should be decided on moral grounds in favor of the affirmative, as the hypocrite is a being shameless, without character, and without the elements of honesty. No hypocrite can ever be a true friend. A true friend is above treachery. He means just what he says. You can depend upon him through thick and thin. The one great fault of the liar is that he likes to hear himself talk. He is his own worst enemy. He may not mean to do harm, but

simply loves to appear in a rôle other than his own. This cannot be said of the hypocrite, who smiles to deceive, and his deceit is like the sting of an adder.

The world is full of those who pretend to be your friends, but once meet with adversity, and the arrow of the hypocrite is the first to strike your prostrate form. These men are the Judas Iscariots of to-day. They trade on the popularity of your successes, and depart should your fame diminish. Oh, ye hypocrites! Ye go forth into the world saying: "Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he; hold him fast."

The contempt of the Saviour was so great that he declared the hypocrite to be so low that "it had been good for that man if he had not been born." The Bible is full of the denunciation of those who carry two faces, and who assume friendship to betray. The world has known many Judas Iscariots, but the basest dastard and coward of modern times is he who betrayed Maceo in Cuba. The leader trusted his physician, and in his faith followed him into ambush and to death.

Jesse James, the outlaw, met death through a hypocrite who held his confidence and sold his life for money.

Betrayals in politics are common, and occur even in high circles. The man who can receive favors, pretending to be grateful, and then strike a blow of treachery, is beneath the scale of manhood. He is not a man, but the shadow of one; a pretense, a sham.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: It is true that a hypocrite is an undesirable character in a household, a village, or country. But the only damage he does is to himself and the individual he deals with. The question is more one for individuals than for society. The public has no time to waste on impostors. It weighs a man for what he is worth, and if found wanting he is dropped by the wayside. A liar does not pretend friendship, but seeks to injure through misrepresentation, or to reap a personal reward for his falsehoods. He often defeats the plans of men and governments by his untruths.

Hundreds of cases have existed where deliberate lies in court have convicted men of crime and sentenced them to prison or the scaffold. While hypocrisy may injure the

social relations, it never sentences a man to death. As our friend gave us lessons from the Scriptures to illustrate his side of the question and show the standing of a hypocrite in those ancient days, I will call his attention to the Ten Commandments, and especially the one which declares: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." To bear false witness is to lie against thy neighbor. Then, in another place, we find God giving Commandments to Moses, and he says: "Thou shalt not raise a false report."

Our friends desire to prove their position on the authority of the Bible, but from the same source we find that the liar is regarded as an abomination in the sight of God. And so he is in the sight of man and man's laws. The hypocrite disturbs the social life, while the liar deliberately saps the foundation of character, and, under the security of apparent truth, the lie destroys confidence.

Business cannot exist without truth. The fabric of commerce and industry is based upon the faith of men in each other. It requires no proof to demonstrate that the liar can have no place in the grand development of energy. There is no room for those who bear false

witness or raise false reports. They are outcasts from business, and their misdeeds are provided for in the laws against crime.

The following may forcefully place the liar in his proper sphere before this audience:

First. Business cannot exist without truth.
Second. The lie destroys confidence.
Third. It degrades mankind.
Fourth. It is a menace against the Church.
Fifth. It is a sin against morals.
Sixth. It destroys character.
Seventh. It is against the command of God.

SECTION XVIII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the government of the United States should own and control the telephone and telegraph systems.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: The people of this country are just beginning to understand the meaning of Government control of the necessaries of life. They are just beginning to realize that the few have no right to speculate in those things which affect the life and prosperity of the many. I would not only resolve that the Government of the United States should own and control the great systems of transmitting messages, but that they should go further: Carry the people's express, own the lines of railroads, furnish light and water, establish banks and postal savings, and, in fact, own and control those methods for supplying the needs of the people which are now creating millionaires by the hundred.

II. Every man who secures a fortune of a million, and there are now thousands of them, does so at the expense of labor.

III. All labor contributes to the accumulation of wealth. If this accumulation goes into the hands of one man, or one corporation, it is evident there is an unjust proportion between the receipts of capital and labor.

IV. No man can honestly earn a million dollars. He may earn it legally, but he must have secured advantages over his fellow-men by which their labor is turned to his profit.

V. When combinations are so constructed that monopolies or trusts exist by unjust taxation on the price of commodities, then it becomes the right of the people to destroy those combinations and give labor its just reward.

VI. The telegraph has become one of the great fixtures of our Government. Its network of lines connects thousands of points with its hundreds of thousands of miles of wire. It has become a wonderful agent in the transmission of messages, and to it we owe much of our business.

VII. The telephone at one time was a

curiosity, and as such was an inconsiderable factor in business. But in time it developed a system of gigantic proportions, connecting towns, cities, trade, commerce, and even the private life of individuals. It is now so established that it cannot be dispensed with, and as a necessity in business and the transportation of messages the few have no right to tax the many beyond what will bring a reasonable compensation.

VIII. These agencies should be furnished to all the people at the lowest price possible and be remunerative to those who control them, but to allow them to form a monopoly, and create hundreds of millions of wealth by charging more than a just price for messages, is not democratic and should be abolished.

IX. To control these systems of electricity we have but one definite plan, and that is Government ownership.

X. With the Government to handle these institutions there is no desire for extortion or a profit beyond a fair valuation. All are interested, and the revenues to the Government will be a portion of that large profit which now fills the coffers of the telegraph and telephone companies.

XI. From a business standpoint we have no right to give valuable franchises for practically nothing.

XII. When a business becomes a monopoly it is a matter of necessity for the Government to take charge of it for the benefit of the people.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Speaker: If we should follow the teachings of our friend who has explained why, in his opinion, our electric systems should be owned and controlled by the Government, we should have more on our hands than we could manage. My friend will find no end to Government ownership if he once embarks on the sea of public control:

First, it will be telegraphs and telephones; then express, railroads, gas, water, light. Then we shall jump into the manufacture of all the necessaries of life.

Mr. Speaker, you will remember he laid great stress on these necessaries. Now if one line is of more importance than another it is the supply of our bodily wants. We need food and raiment to sustain health and strength. We need bread, beef, milk, and

potatoes to build up the system; then why not set the Government at work raising, on a large scale, the wheat for bread? Erect great mills to grind the flour. Herd and fatten cattle, so as to furnish meat at a low price. Raise a million acres of potatoes and sell at the cost of raising. Deliver milk in competition with every farmer. In fact if we accept this line of argument, we can never put a stop to Government ownership until every article raised, every article manufactured, every article sold is in the hands of the Government and every man who labors is a slave to that government.

II. Where will the end be if we continue to harbor such ideas as are expressed in the question?

III. We must bear in mind that the infirmity of man made these great conveniences which our opponents call the necessities of life and business. We have ever held out encouragements, by way of patents and their protection, to those who will engage their minds in the study of the improvements we now enjoy. As a reward for this constant study we place the right to use, make, and control in their keeping for a term of years.

IV. Without this reward few of the great inventions would have been produced. It has been the means of our enlightenment and advancement in the arts and sciences. Without it there would be no great ambition for the improvement of farming, of manufacture, or of any production. It has stimulated thousands to spend years—yes, lifetimes—to master Nature's secrets for the benefit of man.

V. Without the promise of protection and its financial reward the telephone would still be among the unknown possibilities. We would live in ignorance of the wonderful powers of electricity. We would not be able to enjoy the grand development of the power of steam, of water, of light, of Nature's influences, and of everything that raises us from the inactivity of ordinary plodding humanity to the glorious achievements of a higher life.

VI. But for the prospect of wealth our systems of electricity could never have been established. It was man's invention, and he is now entitled to his reward.

VII. Cities, States, and governments have the right to control the franchises granted for the building of various forms of public con-

venience when those institutions become monopolies and are operated for gain only.

VIII. When franchises were first given they were of no value. It took capital, time, and labor to work out their possibilities. In all cities these institutions were begging for those who would put their shoulders to the wheel and open their pocketbooks, and after many failures they have gained a grand success.

IX. It would, indeed, be injustice to rob a man or corporation of success after having toiled through the period of experiment.

X. All experiments for the public benefit have felt the hand of defeat, but after the inevitable losses and mishaps they arise from the valley of experience with renewed power. And now, when they have become an important factor in the commerce of the world, we agitate the necessity of public control.

XI. It is an easy matter to conduct a business when established, but who can raise it from nothing to importance?

XII. It is acknowledged that no public building was ever erected with the economy of a private enterprise. Then how can we expect a Government with no individual financial re-

sponsibility to compete with individual effort? It is not human nature to take the same care of public property as you do of your own.

XIII. No harbor or river improvement—and we spend seventy-five million dollars yearly—was ever economized to the full satisfaction of the public. It has been the means of laying away snug fortunes, but being a public endowment we call him lucky who secures an opportunity to handle these appropriations.

XIV. No army was ever maintained without contracts—and we all know what "contracts" mean.

XV. No battleship was ever built for the same money a private individual could get one for. No fort was ever constructed in time of peace, nor contract for armor plate let out, but those who were "on the inside" received great benefits. In fact, such is the case in all public business where individual responsibility does not depend upon the individual pocketbook.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: It is usually the case, in all questions appertaining

to Government interference, that the opposition side is excited over the encroachment of the people on individual rights. It matters not whether it relates to trusts, combinations, street railways, gas, telephone lines, or the telegraph. They boil with indignation and denounce the demonstrations of the people as an interference with vested rights. This is especially true in all cases where these corporations reap a rich harvest in their dealings with the public.

II. The telephone monopoly has made millions and tens of millions for its stockholders. Their rates of transmission are exorbitant, and it is time they were taken in hand and compelled to give the people this service at a reasonable compensation.

III. Watered stock is one great source of vast accumulations of wealth, and carries with it the deception of the ignorant and the corruption of business morality.

IV. The great system of the Western Union Telegraph still imposes the same tax on messages when, by all the analogies of business, there should be a cheapening of its service. But no! It goes on and on, making the same demands, the same arbitrary re-

quirements, and the same profits—if anything increased by its improved facilities.

V. Attempt to institute Government control, and the lobbies of these "vested interests" are sent forth with the means of corruption in their pockets. They seek those who can be won by their all-powerful persuasions; and opposition appears at proper times and places to appeal for the continuation of the corporation enterprise and to denounce Government interference. In other words, bribery is resorted to, to keep the people still paying excessive profits into the treasuries of these combinations.

VI. No franchise should ever be granted where a city or government could transact its own public business, such as transportation, etc.

VII. Franchise means monopoly, and monoply means a profit greater than the capital invested.

VIII. The object of a monopoly is to control everything in its own line and levy tribute, to its own great advantage.

IX. Individual ownership of any public necessity is a constant source of corruption in official circles. This corruption does not rise

to the surface openly, but it is known to exist and flourish as a hidden but powerful menace to society.

X. We find that Government control of every form of the supply of public needs is a success. It is a success in the manufacture and distribution of light and water. It is a success in handling and maintaining street railways or the railroads of a country. The express, the post office, and in many countries the entire system of telegraphing are now managed with the best results by the Government. This is true in England, Germany, Russia, and most other countries of Europe. It is true also in Australia and New Zealand, and, when adopted here, will be of equal benefit to us.

Mr. Speaker, this is not an experiment. The national ownership of telephones and telegraph systems is in actual operation and is giving success in its perfect management, in its reduction in the cost of service, and its profit to the Government.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: In closing this argument, I desire to lay some stress upon the difference between the tele-

phone and telegraph companies and other public conveniences. In the first place the telephone has a long history of invention. It represents years of study and experiment. Those who have perfected it have spent almost a lifetime toiling over it and now are entitled to the fruits of their victory.

II. The telephone is not a source of oppression, nor is it burdensome. It is a great convenience for those who can afford to use it. Like many articles of consumption, it is a luxury. The poor scarcely patronize it at all; it is by no means so oppressive as represented by our opponents.

III. The telegraph business is an enterprise open to competition, and any person, or combination of persons, may engage in its work. There is no restriction and no cause for Government control. There are no hardships connected with it, and the very poor seldom use it.

IV. Like the telephone it is a business luxury. Its advantage lies only in its rapidity. Most branches of commerce can await the movement of the mails, but through habit they resort to telegraphy, frequently when it is not necessary.

V. The Government may handle it with the same degree of economy and correctness, but it is very doubtful. It has now been reduced to a science, and as such requires the closest attention of its thousands of experts.

VI. If it is suggested that the Government should go into this business for profit, let us say emphatically, No! If it is proposed to help the poor, let me say the poor are not interested. If it is to assist business, then let it remain just as it is and let the business men pay for it.

VII. When the telegraph becomes a burden to the people it will be time to discuss National control, and not until then should we attempt to burden the Government with business cares that can be handled far better under private ownership than otherwise.

Mr. Speaker, in opposition to these forms of ownership, let me interpose the following objections:

First. It is not policy to burden the Government with a business that gives perfect satisfaction under the present régime.

Second. The telephone and telegraph are rather public luxuries than public necessities.

Third. They do not burden the people.

Fourth. They do not tax the poor.

Fifth. They have been acquired by the diligence and perseverance of their inventors.

Sixth. They have steadily advanced from practical nonentity to vast importance.

Seventh. It has required almost hundreds of millions of dollars to establish these gigantic systems. Are we to confiscate this enormous sum?

Eighth. They are not, like the distribution of mails, a public necessity, but they are used to hasten messages as a matter of satisfaction.

Ninth. The change involves too great an expenditure.

Tenth. It is not good politics.

SECTION XIX.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the average young man of to-day has greater opportunities to make life a success financially than his forefathers.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. As we look around us and see the wonderful development which has taken place in the last half century, it is evident that the world never saw such vast and unlimited opportunities for making life a success financially as now.

II. In comparing the possibilities under discussion, we must note the following:

(*a*) What are the advantages now, and what were they in the times of our forefathers?

(*b*) What were the obstacles then, and what are they now?

(*c*) What was the compensation for work done then, and what is it now?

(*d*) Compare education at the two periods.

(*e*) Note now the development of the country with its agencies, and we find there are thousands of avocations where fifty years ago there were none.

III. Science has perfected many important inventions, and openings for occupations are numerous and renumerative.

IV. Thousands of enterprises are developed which young men are needed to assist in pushing and operating.

V. The vast extension of our railroads has added to our resources, and internal commerce is immense in its proportions.

VI. These changes have given employment to thousands of men in the mines, the factories, the promotion of internal improvements, farming, the professions, arts, sciences, and the thousands of avocations not developed in the days of our forefathers.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—We thank the speaker for asking us to compare the conditions of to-day with those of fifty years ago. And in doing so we will ask him for the solution of the following problems :

First. Every business is overrun with applications for employment.

Second. Every profession is full to overflowing.

Third. Every industry is seeking how best to curtail expenses.

Fourth. Every business is in a high state of competition.

Fifth. Capital is wary about investment.

Sixth. Speculation has ruined opportunities.

Seventh. Thousands of men are out of employment.

Eighth. Wealth is growing aristocratic.

Ninth. Young men are being taught that manual labor is debasing.

Tenth. Immigration has added to the difficulties of labor.

Eleventh. Excessive productions have overstocked the market.

Twelfth. Mining is now a failure, except in rare cases.

Thirteenth. Credit is being assailed.

Fourteenth. Money is being hoarded.

Fifteenth. Bankruptcies are frequent, and real estate is decreasing in value.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. The ambitious young man is most earnestly sought after. The business of the country is looking for those who are industrious, honest, and trustworthy. For the young man who can command con-

fidence, there are splendid opportunities. But for the careless and indifferent there may be a lack of employment.

II. The principal drawbacks to financial success at this particular stage of our national existence are the following:

First. Luxuriousness in social life.
Second. Pride.
Third. Extravagance.
Fourth. Over-ambition.
Fifth. Undue devotion to politics.
Sixth. The "accursed hunger for riches."
Seventh. A desire for "genteel" occupations.
Eighth. The high rate of wages results in unambitious contentment.
Ninth. Scorn for lowly employment.
Tenth. The habit of speculation.
Eleventh. Debt.

Eliminate these factors from the problem, and any young man with moderate ability cannot fail to succeed.

III. The necessary qualifications for a young man to possess in order to succeed are:

First. Faithfulness.
Second. Honesty of purpose.
Third. Courtesy.
Fourth. Correct habits.

With these essential qualities, the field is open and victory is assured.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Our opponents lay great stress upon the moral qualities when speaking of our young men of to-day, as though they were inferior to those of the past. Against this insinuation I enter a protest—an emphatic protest. To admit this condition of things we must admit a growing demoralization; that Christianity is on the wane; that the world is growing worse, and that all the progress and improvements of which we are proud serve only to promote vice and degeneracy.

II. The question is, whether the young man of to-day can grasp his opportunities and make his life a financial success more easily than in the times of our forefathers.

III. There is no reason to doubt the honesty of purpose and the ability of our boys, as compared with any in the past. It is not because they are less honest, less faithful, less courteous that they are idle, but because the occupations are full; because the broad, open

fields of fifty years ago are closed; because as a country grows older opportunities are fewer, in proportion to the growth of population; because the development of the country has reached a stage where the building of railroads must in the future be slower. These are the reasons why a financial success is more difficult than formerly.

IV. It is a matter of fact and history that, as a country reaches a certain point, the opportunities for amassing great fortunes gradually cease; that it settles into a regular line of business where labor assumes its duties with little prospect of ever rising from its position.

V. Once upon a time any young man of ordinary intelligence could turn his attention to teaching school. Mark the change to-day! His services were once needed in the store, the printing office, the factories, and various professions. What is the state of affairs now? Clerks, for instance, are no longer sought after, because they are already too numerous.

VI. Women are filling many places which used to belong exclusively to men.

VII. The man who buys a farm without

making a cash payment can hardly hope to meet success.

VIII. They tell us of the hard times of our forefathers, of the low prices of grain and produce, but men succeeded then because, on the other hand, prices were not burdensome. Taxes were light and insurance was scarcely known. Property of all kinds, especially real estate, was constantly increasing in value. Buy to-day, and you can hardly hope to receive much benefit from a rise in property.

SECTION XX.

QUESTION.

Is immigration detrimental to the United States?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman, the question we are about to discuss is one of peculiar interest to every workingman in the United States, and should be considered wholly from the standpoint of justice to American labor.

II. Every laborer who has declared his intention of becoming an American citizen is a unit of American labor.

III. There are no distinctions when once the foreign immigrant has renounced his allegiance to whatever country may have been his home and has pledged his support to the Constitution of the United States.

IV. The question does not refer to any citizen of to-day, but asks, is it best, consider-

ing the competition for employment, to increase the number of unemployed by encouraging the surplus labor of the Old World to seek our shores and compete with those now striving to make both ends meet by ill-paid employment.

V. It is to the interest of every laborer, no matter if he has but just landed on the shores of America, to assist any measures that will insure a fair compensation for his labor.

VI. Conditions now are unlike those in the past.

VII. In the past we were in a state of development and hence a state of prosperity. Industries were humming on every hand, commodities were produced at a profit. Farmers were happy, and every man who would work was called upon to sell his labor to those who could purchase it.

VIII. Immigration was encouraged. States appointed committees to induce settlement in their territory. Land was sold at nominal prices, and every possible attraction was offered to build up our country by welcoming people from other lands.

IX. But mark the change: We now have thousands of men without any permanent

employment. Our factories are running on short time, or not at all. Wages are being cut to enable employers to meet competition, poverty confronts multitudes in every city, and charity is taxed to keep needy women and children from starvation.

X. No one denies this condition of things, and yet our friends on the opposite side will not close the door against further immigration, and, as a corollary, further competition and further injury to the American people.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: When we make an international compact, we must observe it in its entirety, even though some of its clauses are not to our liking. It is not for us to dictate all the terms of international treaties. We are *all* directly or indirectly interested in the commerce of the world. We have made our treaties and must observe them. We guarantee protection to any naturalized foreigner who may come to us, just as though he were a member of our national family. We desire no more of one man than of another in the observance of law and order.

All are equal in the exercise of their skill and judgment in the pursuits of life.

II. We cannot restrict immigration except as it involves the reception of criminals or paupers as prospective citizens. We have laws to prevent unworthy persons from coming here as immigrants or otherwise.

III. Our treaties cannot be broken without causing friction and retaliation.

IV. We can have no cause for complaint if only good men come to our shores.

V. No country need fear too many good men. It is the idle, shiftless, debased, and lawless classes we fear.

VI. No doubt many undesirable aliens have migrated to our land in prosperous times, but as we have placed a watch on future arrivals, there is no need to condemn all foreigners, or denounce immigration as the source of a commercial and financial depression which was the result of speculation.

VII. We have been supporting a policy of development. We have built beyond our power of maintenance. We have planned thousands of schemes of speculation, and now we reap the whirlwind of our own avarice.

VIII. Immigration is not the cause of ex-

isting idleness, destitution, and want. We have made our financial bed by seeking too much, and now, in the suddenness of the fall, we blame others in the attempt to screen ourselves.

IX. Enforce our laws against improper persons coming to our shores, and we need have no fear of immigration.

X. Let all good men and their families come who so desire. We need their labor, their enterprise, their strength, and their honesty of purpose.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.— I. Mr. Speaker: If the rosy picture which has just been painted could only be vitalized, we might feel differently in regard to foreign immigration, but when we know that the laziness, crime, pauperism, and idleness are largely due to the people of other countries who have had nothing to lose by coming here, we cannot but exclaim, "Close the doors to these unwelcome visitors!" We do not need them. We have no room for them. We want what labor there is for our own citizens. Even now there is not enough

employment to give an honest living to all who need it.

II. The first duty we owe our people is to guarantee their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And our second duty is to protect them while they live in liberty and pursue happiness, and to enable them to secure a reasonable compensation for their services. This they have a right to ask of us. They are our citizens, and we owe them an opportunity to gain a livelihood.

III. Our friend seems to dwell upon international treaties and possible friction. He states that our commerce is so interwoven with that of other nations that we cannot enact laws that may displease them, or else retaliation will be the result. Our friends must remember that treaties cannot exist to the detriment of any nation. Treaties are made for mutual benefit. Should the future demonstrate that these agreements are distasteful or burdensome, then they can be repealed and new ones made.

IV. In Russia to-day there is for an American no freedom of travel; no permission to engage in business. In Germany it is necessary for us to obtain permission even to

travel. In China we are in many localities shut out entirely. Each country reserves the right to dictate who and what shall come among them, and we have the right to impose the same restrictions.

V. Mr. Speaker, the chief reasons why we should limit immigration are as follows:

Crime;
Pauperism;
Laziness;
Competition;
Contract labor;
Low wages.

All these particulars are the result of free immigration. It is the nature of the restless, unemployed, and poorly paid people of any country to seek other climes for the purpose of bettering their condition. America has been the asylum of the whole world until we have become so crowded with unrequited labor that we are sapping the strength of our institutions by creating unrest and anarchy.

VI. We can see the danger to our institutions by comparing the few who are rich and the millions who are poor. A hungry man is a dangerous man. Competition produces

low prices, and to-day the competition of labor is so great that many barely have the necessaries of life.

VII. In order to protect our workingmen on the Pacific coast we were compelled to prohibit the further introduction of Chinese. Not that they were idle or shiftless, but because by their parsimonious habits they could outbid American labor and thus become a menace to the white labor of our country. Few claim we did foolishly to stop this assault upon the workmen of the Western coast. But what is true there is also true on the Eastern side of the continent. Large bodies of ignorant men have been employed in our iron mines; in the day labor of our factories where skill is not required; in the coal fields of Pennsylvania; on the streets of our cities, and in the construction of railroads, wherever unskilled labor was needed. This is the competition we have had, are having, and which we propose to limit.

VIII. The question does not mean that we shall raise the standard of prohibition and debar all classes, but that we shall restrict those who cannot be benefited by coming and who will be a serious embarrassment to those

who are here. We are willing to welcome every man, woman, and child who will be a blessing to our country, but to debar those who will prove a detriment.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: The last speaker seems to hedge in his arguments by stating that the question covers only that class of people who would not be a blessing to us. This is a strange solution of a question, when we cannot know by any means whatever who are worthy and who are not. A man who was of the poorest in Europe may become a valuable citizen here, while one of the richest might become a curse as an American. We can discuss this question only from the standpoint of justice to all.

II. What would we have been if there had been no immigration? We commence with the discovery of the continent; the landing of the Pilgrims; the settlement of the Mohawk valley. The widespread thrift of the German; the sturdy life of the Scotchman; the wideawake Irishman; the frugal Norwegian and Swiss; the stanch old Englishman—the

bone and sinew of all nationalities; these were factors in our upbuilding. These countries have made us what we are. We call ourselves Americans, as though we were a distinct race, when in reality we represent all races. And now to say to these nations, who have been the means of our wonderful development, that we will not receive any more of their sons and daughters savors of ingratitude.

III. There are classes of people who are not acceptable at any time, but where are we going to draw the line? How can we stipulate that one part of the family is eligible and another is not? There are some people from every country who are of no benefit to any place.

IV. We say prohibit immigration, and at the same time say we want good men to come. Who are the good men? Who have wealth enough to meet the law's requirements? Who are honest enough? Who are industrious enough? Who is qualified to sit in judgment on the merits or demerits of the would-be American citizens?

V. My friend cited the Chinese as a class that had to be excluded in order to protect

the workingmen of the Pacific coast. Now no one contends that the Chinese are a disgrace to this country. It is simply claimed that they will not become American citizens, that they come here only for profit; that many of them came under contract at fixed compensation; that they live too penuriously; that they can compete at starvation wages; that they would destroy wages, and as a consequence they must go.

VI. This may be true of the Chinese, and as they are not allowed to become American citizens we can eliminate them from the argument, but what other nation of importance can you say must stay outside?

VII. Mr. Speaker, if our laws are enforced against crime and pauperism, we need have but little fear of undesirable immigration coming to compete with us in the field of labor.

VIII. The great cause of all our labor troubles is doubtless the lack of confidence. Speculation has run riot, until capital is too timid to venture. Restore confidence, institute legitimate business, and we shall see labor rewarded by employment, and may then abolish the idea of curtailing immigration.

IX. Enforce the laws now on the statute

books against the criminal classes and beggars and we are, even now, reasonably safe.

Affirmative.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Speaker: It is easy to talk of what has produced the present condition of things, and what may be the future outlook, but we are face to face with a reality. We add by immigration thousands and thousands to our population who cannot support themselves in this country, for there is nothing for them to do. They do not know our language, nor do they know our ways. They are ignorant, and uneducated even in their own language. Our cities are overflowing with the idle. Crime is rampant, and misery is everywhere. Every day's work we now give to a newcomer is so much food taken from the mouths of our wives and children.

Every deed of charity to our new immigrants means that the burden of caring for the poor is increased just so much. It may not be necessary absolutely to prohibit immigration, but it is emphatically necessary to restrict it. Admit only those who possess the

requirements of education, of health, of moral character, of means of support. This is as far as we can go. To attempt anything further would be going beyond the bounds of justice. But we must protect our own labor. We must be mindful of the thousands who are in idleness. We must bear in mind that when a large mass of the people are hungry, the conditions are ripe for anarchy and society is menaced with revolution.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot afford to take these chances. We now have it in our power well to safeguard the future labor of the country. Let us not lose this opportunity. Labor is restless, and a decisive act now may conduce to a better feeling between our Government and the people. We are not legislating for Great Britain or any other country. We are here to work for our own interests, for our own people, and our own prosperity. Then let us revise our immigration laws, prohibit a promiscuous rush to this country, and stop any further competition in labor until we get out of the woods.

SECTION XXI.

QUESTION.

Are our large department stores an injury to the country?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: For several years past the tendency of retail trade in our large cities has been to concentrate under a single roof every known product for which there is any demand. These gigantic institutions are known as department stores, and are fast monopolizing the trade of both city and country. Like oil, coal, copper, sugar, matches, biscuit, nails, screws, steel, whisky, lumber, books, and numerous other articles now held by trusts and monopolies, the retail trade is being absorbed by these stores. Their effects are disastrous to the smaller traders, and thousands are feeling the strain which loss of trade is causing them. In Chicago, in particular, these stores are spreading ruin in all quarters, and are causing a decline

of trade in country towns where people buy through the price catalogues of their immense stock of goods. We are aware that a combination of capital, with ready money, can buy at a far lower rate than can those who buy but little and often on credit.

The success of a country depends, among other things, upon the following factors:

Small farmers;
Distribution of trade;
Employment;
General industries.

These may be analyzed as follows:

The small farmer is the medium for more independence in agriculture; for more families to till the soil and earn their living. Vast landed estates depend upon renters, and renters are always dependent. Note the condition of European countries, except France. The prosperity of France depends much upon the division of the soil; for instance, a farmer dies who owns one hundred acres, leaving ten children. The law divides the real estate equally. This prevents the accumulation of large tracts of land, and families are given equal opportunities.

Distribution of trade implies a diffusion of trade everywhere; no monopoly of it at central locations. The process resembles the distribution of small farms wherever there is a demand.

Employment.—The more stores exist, the more free labor and a better remuneration of it. Where thousands of men are employed the question of wages is carefully studied by the aggregation of capital, and a few cents saved to it on each employee amounts to a large sum. Thus labor is better paid where the department store has not yet gained a foothold.

General Industries.—Much greater prosperity comes to a people if we can distribute industries over a thousand towns than if we unite the whole under a single management at one central point. These are the conditions that give general prosperity to a people and a country. The more you draw in and consolidate the more you cripple the people, lessen wages, and bring hard times. The department stores to the retail bring exactly the same result as aggregations of wealth do to production. You give them the advantage of buying at a discount, manufacturing for themselves, obtaining bankrupt

stock, selling at a profit where the smaller stores could not buy, and in every way they form a monopoly.

They give no credit. They demand cash in advance, consequently there are no losses. In cities the car fare is only five cents, and the glaring advertisements attract rich and poor, who flock to the bargain counters and pay their cash, while their grocery stores at home languish for want of trade and money to make both ends meet.

A prominent real-estate man in Chicago remarked the other day that the department stores were producing more anarchists than all other causes combined. Hundreds of small stores had failed, and hundreds more were tottering to their fall, and every man who went under through a lack of trade became a bitter anarchist. There now! see how a combination of capital can control prices and trade. The victims denounce those corporations as unjust to the people and declare they ought to be abolished. It is only another step to a consolidation of all industries and servitude for all the people. Something must be done to stop this state of things. There must be more independence

and less dependence, more diversity and fewer combinations, better wages and less sweating. Why, my friends, it is stated on credible authority that the wages paid to the multitude of girls in our department stores are scarcely enough to keep body and soul together. Those corporations have no heart, no sympathy, no idea of justice. They study profit from every source and get it, too. Abolish these stores, for they are a curse to trade and a curse to humanity.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: "Are our large department stores an injury to the country?" The speaker who has just addressed this assembly has gone into an itemized account of conditions and denounces these stores as of almost a malicious character, and claims that they should be abolished. Now, Mr. President, if these stores have done anything wrong I should like to have our friend point it out to us. They have exercised no liberties not fully theirs, and are doing no business not legitimate and right in every way. The only difference between these places of business and others is that they are

more extensive in character. They carry a large stock, deal for cash, and furnish goods to their customers at a reasonable price. Most stores adopt the credit system, especially in country villages, and he who pays cash must also pay the bad debts of the concern; otherwise the credit stores could not stand the loss. The department stores are seeking to put business on a cash basis. They buy and sell for cash, and the consumer is given the benefit. We have been doing business on credit all through. This system has necessitated high prices, which are a detriment to all consumers; while, if a cash system had been reasonably adhered to and moderate prices prevailed, there would never have been any of these stores. We are to blame if we have paved the way for the retail of goods at wholesale prices. The people demanded protection from high prices, and there being a demand, capital accepted the situation and inaugurated this new business. It is said competition is the life of trade, but it is also true that local high prices will drive away trade. People will trade where they can get the most for their money. Every farmer will sell where he can get the best prices.

Department stores can exist only in large cities where there are multitudes of people. As there is a heavy investment there must be a heavy trade to balance it. It is true they send out catalogues to the rural communities, and they are a great advantage, too. Without these lists these people could never post themselves on proper prices. For hundreds of articles which small stores charge twenty-five cents these stores ask three cents or five cents and make a profit, too. In these hard times no merchants have the moral right to make several hundred per cent. profit, and but for these departments stores they would do so. Now let me ask you this question:

Is it any worse to establish a large store with general supplies at low or medium prices, and thus attract customers, than to make extortionate charges and drive away trade? Department stores would not exist if the people should adopt a cash system, but while credit is the motive power we must abide by the consequences; no credit system can do justice to the ready-money purchaser. My friend complains of the low wages paid by corporations. The larger the concern, the greater

the need for economy in the most minute details. Every point and every leak must be watched with the closest scrutiny, otherwise the business will be a failure.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not see how we can imagine that we have reasonable grounds for denouncing these department stores. We find that they were called into existence to satisfy a public demand, and their advantages may be summed up as follows:

Reasonable prices.
Cash payments.
A varied assortment.
The mail-order system.
Fair dealing.
They satisfy a demand of the people.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Mr. President: The department store is but a manifestation of the pernicious tendency of capital to concentrate in the hands of the few. The ruinous effects of such a tendency can hardly be overestimated. It greatly swells the ranks of laborers and employees. It widens the breach between the rich and the poor and annihilates a

class which has hitherto preserved an equilibrium between the two social extremes, and which is absolutely essential to the existence of all free representative governments. I refer to the middle class. It was the middle class of England which preserved unimpaired the freedom of speech, the liberty of the press, and all those inestimable rights and privileges which we now enjoy. It was the middle class which always checked the encroachments of the selfish and arrogant aristocracy, and the violent outbreaks of turbulent demagogues. It was the middle class which gave us the greatest thinkers, poets, dramatists, philosophers, and leaders in the field of intellectual endeavor. The most potent factor in the downfall of Poland—that once great and flourishing kingdom, great in the extent of her territories, rich in her natural resources, blessed with a brave, patriotic, and industrious population—was the absence of a native middle class.

Destroy the middle class in this country, and, notwithstanding our boasted equality before the law and at the ballot box, we shall be a nation of magnates and serfs. All the avenues to wealth, or even to a moderate

competence, will be open only to the few who were fortunate by the accident of birth, or possess the meanness of spirit to cringe and fawn before the haughty plutocrat. That the law has the right to protect its subjects against the oppressive aggressions of centralized wealth is no new doctrine. It is as old as the common law itself, and has often been applied in England and other countries of Europe.

But, Mr. Chairman, I will not confine myself to consideration of right and justice, but will call attention to absolute facts as they affect the people; and to make my protest more forcible, I will particularize as follows:

First. The department store is the most dangerous fire-trap now existing. For this reason, alone, it should be legislated out of existence.

Second. It is a fruitful field for propagating contagious diseases, by reason of the immense number of men, women, and children who are crowded into badly ventilated rooms. Seldom is there lacking, in such crowds, a person suffering from some contagious disease.

Third. It is too great an employer of child labor

Fourth. It destroys legitimate competition.

Fifth. It pays unremunerative wages, in violation of ethical if not of common law.

Sixth. It fails to pay its legitimate proportion of taxes.

Seventh. It concentrates business to the detriment of the convenience, comfort, and health of the public.

Eighth. The sale in a department store of food and intoxicating liquors without special license and special inspection is a moral crime, at least.

Ninth. It encourages the manufacture of defective household goods, mechanical tools, garden and farm implements.

Tenth. By advertising for bankrupt stocks it encourages illegitimate bankruptcy.

Eleventh. It encourages people to buy articles which, while very cheap at first cost, are high-priced, in fact, since it requires several to outlast one good article of a like kind having but a slightly increased cost.

Twelfth. It causes the concentration of wealth.

Thirteenth. It robs the smaller stores and drives them to bankruptcy.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: If a city council, legislature, or Congress can stop the owners of a department store from selling goods because they sell them cheaper than other merchants, then it is possible to take away from a citizen of the United States absolutely every constitutional right he is supposed to possess.

I sympathize with the small dealers and would like to see them prosper, and they will

prosper again just as soon as the present hard times leave us and the promised prosperity arrives, for their distress is owing, not so much to the keen competition of the large stores as to the general depression now existing. But they must adjust themselves to the new conditions which evolution brings forth, just as artisans have been compelled to adjust themselves to all the labor-saving machinery which has been invented during the last fifty years. But to legislate people out of business because they have been more successful than others would be to throttle energy, enterprise, pluck, and intelligence, and to reward idleness, indifference, sloth, and stupidity.

The large stores would not exist if the people did not patronize them. Demand precedes supply. The people demand these stores and here they are. If at the clamor of a few small traders and a number of landlords these stores should be legislated out of business, a howl would go up from consumers two years hence that would reinstate them.

Why object to the department store? Why not object to the sewing machine, the reaper and binder, or any other labor-saving machine? They all reduce the demand for labor. Is

there any good reason why I should be taxed from twenty-five to one hundred per cent. to enrich some grocer? Many a man would be living in enforced idleness if the law should suppress the department stores, just as there are now men out of employment for other reasons. These small traders who are forced out by competition must learn to adapt themselves to their altered conditions. It is not only desirable but just that those who have the opportunity to do so should supply the necessities of the less fortunate at the lowest cost consistent with a reasonable profit. In this respect the department store is an advantage to the public. It should be encouraged to plant offshoots in the smaller towns. Doubtless, at first some hardship would result from a decrease in the number of employees, but the ultimate effect would be to carry out the principle which should govern commerce, politics, and every other department of life—"the greatest good of the greatest number."

SECTION XXII.

QUESTION.

Should greenbacks be retired and the Government go out of its present system of banking?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: This is a question that has long been under discussion by the most gifted financial thinkers of our country.

II. The greenback system was called into being to meet the pressing needs of the Government during the great Civil War.

III. Its creation was a war measure.

IV. It was opposed at the time of its issue as unconstitutional and contrary to the principles of good finance.

V. It is true it served the purpose of relieving immediate necessities, but owing to the suspension of specie payments it became an inflated currency, incapable of being redeemed,

and it shrunk in value until it was worth but forty cents on a dollar.

VI. Being a necessity of the War the burden of loss was overlooked and the expenses which accrued were cheerfully borne.

VII. It is not now a war necessity.

VIII. It is a useless expense because it forces the Government to be continually providing for its redemption.

IX. It necessitates a gold reserve of not less than $100,000,000.

X. This $100,000,000 is the people's money, and should not be taken from circulation.

XI. It is an endless chain of embarrassment.

XII. The reserve may be lowered at any time, and there is no form of protection.

XIII. Speculators may combine to reduce the reserve and compel the Government to borrow to meet the deficiency.

XIV. During a recent administration $262,000,000 of bonds were issued to meet the reserve.

XV. As there are only $360,000,000 in greenbacks (and many of these have been lost by fire and other casualties), the vast new bonded indebtedness is a burden, and

yet the greenbacks still remain to draw $262,000,000 more of bonds when we have another season of adversity.

XVI. Such seasons create distrust, impair credit, and produce financial disaster.

XVII. The Government should be relieved from this burden by a general retirement of this war money and so stop all further embarrassment.

XVIII. Had this been done prior to the issue of those $262,000,000 of bonds, the greenback debt would be nearly redeemed by these new bonds.

XIX. It is true the continuance of this system has an air of economy, but the new bonds are an evidence of its actual extravagance.

XX. What has happened in the past financially may happen again in the future.

XXI. There is a wise saying: "Better be sure than sorry."

XXII. The retirement of the greenbacks will not produce any less money, as bank bills can be issued to replace them.

XXIII. The redemption can be slow and the terms easy.

XXIV. Once commence the actual redemption and no trouble can occur, as confidence

in the new system will be created and the credit of the Government beyond a possible misconstruction.

XXV. We want a currency that is stable and adapted to the needs of the people by expansion.

XXVI. There is no expansion in a currency that cannot exceed a certain volume.

XXVII. A proper system of banking under Government supervision is the only safe system ever devised.

XXVIII. We want no experiments.

XXIX. We want an elastic currency.

XXX. We want every dollar to be as good as gold.

XXXI. We want the burden of redemption imposed on the profits of banking.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: It is true the ablest men from a financial standpoint advocate the retirement of the greenbacks.

II. But who are these men? They are almost wholly the class we call bankers.

III. It is to the bankers' interest to have the Government go out of banking.

IV. The intelligent financier regards the question from the point of profit.

V. Few men consider other interests than their own.

VI. It is safe to assume that a banker's opinions are based upon his interests.

VII. If it is a greater benefit for him to retain the greenbacks he will oppose their retirement.

VIII. If it is to his advantage to have them retired he will seek to have them redeemed, or rather converted into bonds bearing good interest.

IX. It is then a self-evident truth that, as he has, and does, earnestly advocate their retirement, it must be for his benefit that they should be converted into bonds, and that he should be given the privilege of issuing the money.

X. My friend states that the issuing of the greenback was a war measure, and as conditions have changed, the Government should now redeem their promises.

XI. Our opponents do not state why our Government resorted to a paper currency. I will tell you. The plan was opposed in decided tones, but when offering a loan the

bankers bid from twelve to thirty per cent. interest, a rate no Government or individual could stand. This being the case, the greenback was forced on us.

XII. The experiment proved valuable beyond the highest hopes of its ablest advocates.

XIII. It met all the expenses of the War.

XIV. It rewarded the soldier for his patriotism and compensated him for risking his life.

XV. It built fleets and armed the navy.

XVI. It built the *Monitor*, the conqueror of the *Merrimac*, which had threatened the capture and destruction of every seaport city.

XVII. It furnished food and clothing, arms and ammunition.

XVIII. It saved the Union and restored the sisterhood of States.

XIX. It came to the rescue when all other means failed.

XX. It furnished a medium of circulation for the transaction of all business.

XXI. It was legal tender and was good in any part of the country.

XXII. It was the best money the people ever saw.

XXIII. If it could save a nation in the time of war and distress, it could serve the people in the days of peace and prosperity.

XXIV. It bore no rate of interest.

XXV. It has saved the people over $600,000,000 in interest.

XXVI. If retired, and bonds issued instead, the people will pay in the next forty years $600,000,000, and still the debt will remain.

XXVII. The $262,000,000 which my friend brings as a proof is no fault of the system.

XXVIII. The expenses of the Government exceeded its revenues.

XXIX. Banks saw the opportunity and raided the Treasury for individual gain.

XXX. Millions were made in the transaction.

XXXI. The bond sale has been represented as a result of a depleted reserve, through the paper currency.

XXXII. The fact is, it was the result of a combination of speculators, who, through the agency of the Government, were privileged to force a bond issue and reap its benefits.

XXXIII. The best currency the world ever saw is the currency of this Government. It is without interest, costs the people nothing,

is legal tender at all points in United States territory.

XXXIV. It is not a menace to credit. It is only a menace to individual gain.

XXXV. It is true it usurps a portion of the privileges which the banks demand.

XXXVI. The banks see an opportunity to substitute their bills for the others.

XXXVII. They are like the foxes who visited the farmer and asked him why he was building a high board fence around his chicken coop. But when the farmer replied that it was to protect his chickens, the smoothed-tongued foxes told him to plow his fields and attend to his crops, for they had made a life study of the chicken business and would take care of his chickens.

XXXVIII. And now, Mr. President, these financial foxes see a good many nice fat pullets in those $360,000,000, of greenbacks and they want to get through the fence.

XXXIX. The affirmative speaker misrepresents facts. A non-interest-bearing debt is no danger. It represents economy. It saves interest, and is a general legal tender.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: From the testimony of our learned opponents we are led to believe that the greenback currency is the victim of a gross conspiracy. Grant the statement; it is only proof that the present conditions do lead to serious consequences. That, although we may have derived untold benefits in the past, still there may be untold dangers in the future if we continue its constant redemption and reissue.

II. Bear in mind that conditions change. Circumstances in one case do not justify the circumstances in another.

III. The greenback, we all agree, proved truly the sinews of war. It served a noble purpose. It made the government independent and gave it enormous strength.

IV. But the fact that it was once useful is not evidence of value under other circumstances.

V. My friend admits that the conditions were favorable to a depleted reserve and consequently a forced loan of $262,000,000.

VI. Good business always says, "Avoid disturbances."

VII. If the greenback has ceased to be a benefit, do not hesitate to remove it.

VIII. Servants grow old, and no matter how great their value during the days of their strength, yet they may become a burden, or dependent, in the days of their weakness.

IX. The greenback was once strong, but it is now weak.

X. The soldiers of the past cannot be depended upon to fight the battles of the future. It requires younger men, men of strength and activity, men who are as were the brave boys of 1862.

XI. They have lost their usefulness, and though we honor them for their loyalty and the good they have done, yet we cannot rely upon their ability in time of adversity.

XII. We are not concerned with what this currency has done, but what its continuance may allow others to do.

XIII. We must remove suspicion.

XIV. We must avoid the possibility of a recurrence of past evils.

XV. We cannot afford to take chances because of the sentiment that attaches to past favors and benefits.

XVI. The reserve must be maintained at

all hazards, if we propose to do a banking business.

XVII. If we agree to pay, we must not violate that promise.

XVIII. A government promise is sacred.

XIX. The $100,000,000 in gold, in the treasury of the Government, is a convincing proof of our ability to fulfill our promises.

XX. By means of the reserve we sustain our credit.

XXI. By our credit we maintain our standing as a nation among nations.

XXII. Money is a great convenience, but credit is far superior to it.

XXIII. This is a great country, and vast interests depend upon a stable currency.

XXIV. My friend insists that it costs the people nothing to maintain the greenback through its various forms of redemption. I ask him if this everlasting chain through which $262,000,000 of bonds were forced upon us could ever have made its appearance if the reserve danger had never existed.

XXV. Every thinking man knows that the drain on the reserve was due to the past form of our finances. We agreed to redeem, and there was no other way but to redeem.

XXVI. The lower the reserve the greater the anxiety.

XXVII. But when the reserve was raised beyond the danger limit there was no danger, no desire for redemption.

XXVIII. It was the Dutchman's position, who wanted his money from a bank. "Vell, if I can get my money, I don't vant it; but if I cannot get it, I vant it."

XXIX. We need a new system of banking, a new basis of issue; a system that will extend to the needs of the people, a system that scatters the burden of redemption.

XXX. No system has ever been devised that equals the American system of national banking.

XXXI. Let us extend its usefulness.

XXXII. Let us give it greater power.

XXXIII. Give each section an opportunity of issuing money on unquestioned security.

XXXIV. Municipal or State bonds may meet the expansion.

XXXV. Place them under national supervision.

XXXVI. Let the General Government decide what it will receive as security.

XXXVII. Let the banks keep the gold for redemption.

XXXVIII. Place the present reserve in the channels of circulation.

XXXIX. Our friends may amuse us with fox stories, but they cannot deny that the greenback is an endless chain by which the reserve may be withdrawn by a constant presentation of these bills for redemption.

XL. Our present law commands that whenever this paper money is redeemed it must not be retired, but issued as expenses may require.

XLI. The chain pays out the currency to meet expenses, and there is no power to prevent a constant repetition of presenting the entire $360,000,000 time and again.

XLII. Stop the exchange of bills for gold, and you question the credit of the Government. Refuse to honor a greenback, and you immediately precipitate a crisis. We cannot afford to do this.

XLIII. There is no way of protecting this credit except by protecting the reserve. The Government must bear this endless chain whenever it is called upon. There is no way to save its credit except by meeting its

obligations, and to secure those obligations there is but one way, and that is to remove the cause.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: The one great hobby of our opponents is the gold reserve. Oh, the gold reserve! It must be maintained. It is the danger signal that marks the danger line.

II. The danger line seems to be $100,000,000.

III. I wonder how it was ascertained that this sum was the proper point to locate a financial safety valve.

IV. Why not place it at $150,000,000? or why not place it at $50,000,000? or why place it anywhere at all? Why not abolish this dangerous banking department our opponents are so solicitous about? Why not say we will accept from the Government a full legal tender in all cases, and abolish the reserve entirely?

V. Who wants this reserve? Is it the people who are carrying on the real transactions of business? No. Is it the day-

laborer, who is willing to accept any dollar that is able to buy the necessaries of life? No. Is it the soldier, who wants a redemption in payment of his pension? No. Is it the farmer, who wants it for his produce; or the manufacturer, who must have payment for his wares? Is it the miner, who digs for coal; the shipbuilder, who builds for commerce; the railroad employee, who handles the vast interests of exchange? No; it is no form of labor or industry that demands this endless chain of redemption our friends delight to describe.

VI. Let the greenback remain the issue of the whole people. Let it go into the channels of business, and in each exchange let it represent a unit of value. We need no redemption, and no reserve—to be raided when speculators desire to profit by the purchase and sale of a new bonded indebtedness.

VII. The greenback currency is a necessity and cannot be dispensed with unless there is a substitute.

VIII. But why should there be any substitute?

IX. Why disturb this medium of circulation? Why look upon this currency as a

danger when the business of the country demands its continuance?

X. The danger would consist in removing it; in converting it into bonds; in attempting to redeem it in anything but labor and labor's produce.

XI. Currency is the blood of enterprise, and the greenback once proved its power in peril and adversity. It was never once found wanting, and now to brand it as a danger is only a stratagem of the few who desire to control our finances.

XII. This demand for retirement comes only from the money-changer and the speculator in bonded securities. It is the demand of Wall Street, the demand of banks which desire to issue currency.

XIII. Yes; I agree with our friend that the banking system should be revised, but not with new powers. It should be made to conform to a currency issued by the Government only.

XIV. What we need is a full legal-tender currency without exceptions. A currency that will pay any debt, both public and private. Absolute money for the transaction of business. No redemption by the Government

except as it is received in the payment of taxes, revenues, and any debt due the Government for its support and maintenance.

XV. There never was any just cause to issue $262,000,000 under cover of supplying the reserve. The issue was a conspiracy to benefit speculators. Bonds were bought at 104½ and sold for 120. The entire issue brought millions of profits to those who could command the situation.

XVI. My opponents will claim that redemption is a necessary feature in Government banking.

XVII. I deny the truth of this position. As regards depreciation, I declare it is impossible to depreciate a full legal-tender currency issued by this Government. If it will pay any debt, it is always at par and needs no redemption. It needs no reserve, and the $100,000,000 in gold should be placed where it can circulate as money. Let those who want to speculate in gold speculate by themselves, but never place the Government where it is forced to dance to the tune of compulsion. Let us study the science of finance, and we shall see whence the trouble originates. Remove the cause as our brother indicates,

but do not remove the greenback, the servant of the people, the power of exchange, the value of barter. Cease to prate about redemption and make the "promise to pay" a promise to buy and to sell, a real money, a full legal tender, a perpetual unit of value. This is all we need. Let gold and silver stand upon the same basis, but never force one to be the slave of the other. Give each the same power in the business of life, and there can be no favors, no prejudices, and no worry as to what that currency is.

SECTION XXIII.

QUESTION.

Resolved: That our present system of taxation is the best that can be devised.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: Taxation has ever been an important feature in all governments. In fact it is the foundation of political existence.

II. Without taxation laws cannot be enforced, protection secured, peace established, and prosperity insured.

III. Taxation may be met:

By direct payment of money.
By tariff on imports.
By internal revenue.
By the use of stamps.
By licenses and privileges.
By per cent. on business.
By fines.
By direct labor.
By royalties.
By assessing incomes.

IV. Most taxes for the support of State, county, city, and town governments are raised by direct payment of moneys through an assessed valuation.

V. Taxation for the support of the General Government is largely "unseen," as in the tariff and internal revenue.

VI. The tariff is a tax paid on goods imported, while the internal revenue is a charge placed upon articles manufactured in our own country, as on liquors and tobacco.

VII. By imposing tariffs and taxes on manufactured articles we establish a rate equal to all. This rests upon the consumer, and by each purchase a small per cent. is paid and no hardships are felt.

VIII. By our making these small but constant payments, we have in the aggregate a vast sum which could not be met in any other way with any degree of satisfaction.

IX. It becomes a voluntary payment, as no purchase is compulsory.

X. Our national expenditures are over five hundred million dollars a year. To raise this by any other plan would be a positive burden. It is now paid practically without the knowledge of the consumer.

XI. Besides raising revenue through the tariff tax we secure protection to various forms of industries, and thus furnish capital with opportunities for investments and profit.

XII. In other words the tariff is the parent of protection.

XIII. The internal revenue on whisky and tobacco yields a vast sum annually, and those who use these luxuries pay the entire amount.

XIV. As these articles are wholly for personal gratification, the tax is never considered in any respect unjust.

XV. Through the use of stamps the wonderful postal department is supported.

XVI. By direct labor, such as the usual road work, certain objects are accomplished, and no hardship is felt by the individuals.

XVII. Licenses, privileges, fines, and all kinds of permits net the Government an immense sum.

XVIII. By the income tax the wealth gained yearly by individuals is assessed, and as this takes only a small per cent. of the real profit this tax is not burdensome.

XIX. Taxation, to give satisfaction, must be hidden; otherwise the yearly requirement

becomes so large that it is looked upon with suspicion.

XX. The State, county, town, and school tax is now so large that it is hard to meet. Add to this the national expenditures, and we should feel the results far more than when hidden in our everyday purchases.

XXI. The American people are used to tariffs, protection, good wages, and our present system of taxation, and they do not wish to make a change.

XXII. The only real change that could be made is by direct taxation and the Henry George system of a single land tax, which would be in the nature of perpetual rent to the Government.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: The fact that we have lived under a particular form of law, privilege, or condition, is not evidence that these laws and conditions are the best that can be devised.

II. Because we have have had high tariffs and protection for generations we need not necessarily suffer from them forever.

III. The fact that we pay an internal revenue of ninety cents a gallon on whisky, or two dollars on alcohol, or so much on tobacco is not evidence that this tax is for the best interests of the people. On the contrary, we are ready to prove that this internal revenue is a detriment, for the following reasons:

First. A government tax on whisky is the cause of adulteration.

Second. The poisonous adulterants are harmful to the health and happiness of those who unwittingly consume them.

Third. The poison is known to act upon the lungs, kidneys, blood, and brain, and produce the wild delirium of drunkenness and the after nervous relapse.

Fourth. It is known to undermine the constitution and transmit its effects to posterity.

Fifth. Schools for weak-minded children are the results of adulteration.

Sixth. Fifty years ago there were no such schools.

Seventh. Fifty years ago liquor was sold at ten cents per gallon; and if a man got drunk he felt no inconvenience on regaining his senses.

Eighth. Internal revenue has been the means of inducing men to evade the tax by producing vile compounds.

Ninth. A few years ago a large importer of wines and other liquors in New York City died and it was then discovered that he had not imported anything for years. The tax, or tariff duty, induced him to evade its require-

ments and he imitated, by his compounds, every liquor imported.

Tenth. It is stated by good authority that it is next to impossible to secure pure wines or liquors.

Eleventh. Remove these taxes, and there will be no object in adulteration.

Twelfth. Remove the poisons, and drunkenness will lose some of its terrible effects.

Thirteenth. The Government should not tax those things that can be secretly drugged and thus produce an injury to health.

Fourteenth. Remove the ninety cents a gallon on whisky, and benefits will certainly accrue. Remove the temptation, and you remove the evil.

IV. A tariff tax is always satisfactory if we do not produce a protection beyond what is just for all the people.

V. By our present system the National Government is supported wholly by consumption of that which is taxed.

VI. If there are nine men with only their hands for capital to one man with other means, then labor will pay nine times the amount of tax that is paid by wealth.

VII. A just government will reverse this law and compel wealth to pay nine times as much as labor.

VIII. The absolute necessaries of life should not be taxed.

IX. The poor should not be taxed to support the rich.

X. Instead of direct assessments to meet our State, county, city, town, and school expenses we should adopt the following:

First. States should own and control the telephone and telegraph lines.

Second. Cities should own their own street railways, gas, electric lights, waterworks.

Third. The National Government should own its railroads and express.

Fourth. The National Government should own all saloons, and they should be conducted on the lines laid down in the discussion on high license as set forth in a previous meeting.

XI. With the revenue from a reasonable tariff the various departments of government would be supported without much direct tax.

XII. Profits from government ownership of franchises now given to corporations would be immense.

XIII. Manchester, England, owns its own gas plant, and the net revenue, after lighting its own streets and public buildings, is $500,000 a year.

XIV. New York City pays $1,250,000 a year to light its streets.

XV. Mark the difference between Manchester and New York.

XVI. Wheeling, W. Va., a city of less than 35,000 inhabitants, owns its own gas plant, and it yields an income of nearly $30,000.

XVII. Belfast, Ireland, owns its own gas plant, and it yields an annual revenue of $336,000.

XVIII. Glasgow, Scotland, owns its own gas, water, and street railways and pays no tax.

XIX. These are evidences that a different form of taxation is of greater benefit to the people than the old-established line of tariff and protection.

XX. By public ownership the receipts are placed in the Government treasury instead of being applied to the profits of corporations, trusts, and various aggregations of capital.

NOTE.—The affirmative have an opportunity to attack the government ownership as impolitic, and in so large a country, next to impossible. Also the bars are down in regard to adulteration. We have laws against these evils and there is no excuse for not enforcing them. Laws are enforced when we so desire. Protection to home industries is of vital importance. If labor pays more "unseen" tax than capital, then we can retort that capital employs labor, which is its support.

SECTION XXIV.

QUESTION.

Should the President of the United States be elected by a direct vote of the people?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: Popular elections require a direct vote of the people.

II. No government not chosen by the votes of the people can be a perfect government of the people.

III. It is a recognized principle of good government that majorities rule.

IV. The vote of Presidential Electors may be—and has been—the vote of the minority.

V. The election of President may be termed a caucus election.

VI. The State of New York has cast nearly 300,000 majority for electors, and yet this immense majority had no more effect than if there were a bare plurality.

VII. In the election of 1896 a change of

25,000 votes in the right places would have elected Mr. Bryan, and yet President McKinley received over 600,000 majority.

VIII. At the organization of our Government there were thirteen different sovereignties, each desiring a strong hand in the conduct of government, and each jealous of the other. To harmonize these jarring elements a compromise was made and the system of electors devised.

IX. The conditions now are different. A political party is the same in one State as in another.

X. That political party which is the strongest, and can cast a majority of votes, should elect every branch of executive or legislative bodies.

XI. It is most essential that the office of President should be filled by a man who is the choice of the majority of voters, since our government is based on the rule of the majority.

XII. Under the present system, harmony between the Legislative and Executive Branches of our Government is difficult to preserve at times, since the majority of the people voting directly for their Representa-

tives and Senators may fill the Legislative Division of the Government with adherents of one political party, and yet be defeated in their attempt to choose a President of the same party; by a minority.

XIII. Sectionalism—such as the "Solid South" would be destroyed by a direct vote of the people for President.

XIV. Of the four departments of government—the Executive, Judicial, Senate, and House of Representatives—only two are directly elected by the people.

XV. The people may err in judgment, but they cannot be purchased by bribery.

XVI. If it is a government of the people and by the people, then let the people vote directly.

XVII. If the people are directly responsible, then there are none to blame but themselves.

XVIII. Switzerland even goes so far as to refer all laws to a vote of the people. This is called the Referendum.

XIX. We have not reached this scale of advancement, but we are entitled to an election of President by the direct will and sovereign power of the people.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: It has become fashionable to indulge in occasional outbursts of denunciation against constitutional oppression in our system of elections of President.

II. In any great political or economical agitation, superficial thinkers are apt to become alarmists, and see dangers which do not exist.

III. Our method of electing a President is one of these imaginary perils.

IV. There is no injustice or unfairness in our electoral system.

V. It is an election in which all are in every way equal. Perfectly reliable, safe, and honest.

VI. It was instituted by the founders of the republic. It was made a great study by those patriotic men.

VII. The object of diversity of manner of election of the four departments of government was to prevent political monopoly.

VIII. These forms of election are as follows:

House of Representatives, elected by the people from prescribed districts.

Senate, elected now in the same manner.

President, by a combination of conventions, at which the people nominate candidates and then vote for electors.

Supreme Court, appointment for life by the President, subject to approval of the Senate.

IX. This peculiar construction of the various elections is beyond the caprice of the people, or of politics.

X. The President is selected through the conventions first, and elected by the vote of the people by States; the State vote being in proportion to its representatives in both houses of Congress.

XI. The President does receive a majority vote,—his electoral vote represents a majority of the States—which are the political units making up our National government. Consequently, the successful candidate represents, at all times, a majority of states which have cast electoral votes for him.

XII. The people are more apt to be swayed by passion than reason, and a restraining power is needed.

XIII. Both Houses of Congress may be elected through the frenzy of excitement over some political issue, but a veto of the Pres-

ident can form a curb on any vicious legislation they might originate.

XIV. It was a wise provision so to construct our form of government that a radical change could not be instituted at the behest of a majority.

XV. The same wisdom was displayed in limiting the tenure of office, respectively, to two years, four years, six years, and life.

XVI. The people are not always right, or, rather, do not always do what is for their best interests.

XVII. The excited voter does not consider.

XVIII. The cry of corruption and bribery should have no weight, for if the people elect honest men to represent them in conventions, in Congress, in legislatures, and in all assemblies there can be no corruption.

XIX. But no man is positively secure from the influence of circumstances, and certainly not more so because he was elected by a direct vote of the people than if indirectly.

XX. But the greatest of all objections to a direct election of President by popular vote is the opportunity for political chicanery. We may realize the extent of this opportunity when we consider that every precinct in the

United States will feel bound to do all it can to add to the strength of the combined vote of its leaders. Fraud may exist in party strongholds, but this would be increased when it is known that every vote everywhere counts.

XXI. If a State is known to be of a certain political faith, the inducement to fraud is not so great under our present system as it would be by popular vote.

XXII. Now, suppose the election in a State is close (as in New York when Cleveland and Blaine were candidates, only about 1200 majority), we have a recount in that State and the matter is settled. But suppose the returns in a popular count are no more than a few thousand, what is the result? It is a recount in every precinct in the United States; and what does this recount mean? It means the possibility of revolution, if the populace becomes excited over claims of fraud; and the closer the count becomes, the greater the excitement.

XXIII. The following reasons justify our present system and are in harmony with the negative of this question:

First. It is a just basis.

Second. It was the result of long study by the

founders of the Constitution, and was framed to meet the wants of all.

Third. It gives a combined force through the people direct; through their representatives; through conventions, and through appointments.

Fourth. It gives each State a certain sovereign power in the great union of States.

Fifth. The formation of our States into a centralized government gave power to that new government, and no effort should be made to break the chain of confederation.

Sixth. It protects government from the passions of the people.

Seventh. It leaves each State to care for its own politics.

Eighth. It prevents the recount of each State in times of close elections.

Ninth. It prevents extended fraud.

Tenth. It cannot be improved upon.

Eleventh. It covers all of the possible freaks of an excited populace.

Twelfth. The more we divide politics the better are our results.

SECTION XXV.

QUESTION.

Is it good policy for the Government of the United States to place a tariff on sugar?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: Good government means a legislative common interest in which all the people are protected in the exercise of their natural abilities and enjoyment of their rights.

II. If we are endowed with the ability to produce any form of wealth, be it from the common growth of nature or the finished product of labor, it is the duty of government to extend all assistance possible in order to enhance the prosperity and promote the general welfare of all.

III. Before proceeding to analyze the question under discussion, I desire to state a few facts which are of a self-evident nature:

First. A protective tariff is the great stimulus for producing any article thus shielded from foreign competition.

Second. Producing any commodity means the employment of money and labor.

Third. Employed labor means the ability to support those depending upon that labor.

Fourth. Employed capital means the building up of industries and the consequent circulation of money through all the channels of trade.

Fifth. An energetic farmer or an enterprising manufacturer is a promoter of thrift, contentment, and wealth.

Sixth. An indolent farmer or an inactive manufacturer is of little value to the community.

Seventh. Prosperity is preferred to adversity, the employed citizen to the wandering tramp; a satisfied palate to hunger, wealth to poverty.

Eighth. A man with a dollar may satisfy his wants; one without a dollar may become a menace to society.

Ninth. He who is able to sell his labor is not looking toward the boundary line of crime.

Tenth. When we all have something to do we have no time to whine over misfortunes.

IV. From these facts we can arrive at only one conclusion, and that is, it is the duty of government to advance the interests of all her people.

V. If a protective tariff on any product will stimulate its production, employ labor, and

distribute money, then it becomes a necessity, or, rather, a bounden obligation, so to legislate as to produce these conditions. It is our duty to take the best care possible of the people of our country.

VI. It may be philanthropic to consider all mankind brothers, but it is not good business to divide the profits of our people with those of other countries.

VII. The father and mother consider the well-being of their children first.

VIII. The people of a town, county, or State, respectively, look to their own interests first.

IX. The General Government is but the representative of all the people.

X. Sugar is a product that is in common use, and to produce it requires a vast outlay of money and a large amount of labor. We spend yearly over two hundred million dollars buying sugar made in other countries.

XI. If this sum of money could be expended on the farms and factories at home, it would greatly develop a new source of wealth.

XII. Two hundred million dollars saved means just so much more money with which to buy the products of other labor.

XIII. It has now been proven that American soil is adapted to the cultivation of cane or beets, in quantity and quality equal to any country on the globe.

XIV. This being the case, it becomes a pressing obligation so to encourage the growth of cane and beets as to be able to produce our own supply of sugar.

XV. If it is necessary to resort to a protective tariff to stimulate this industry, then it is our duty so to legislate immediately.

XVI. It is not necessary to extend this protection beyond the point necessary to establish the industry permanently.

XVII. The French system after the Franco-German war was to grant a royalty for twelve years on every pound of sugar produced from the beet. This induced the production of sugar to a degree greater than the needs of the people. Before the twelve years expired France was exporting sugar.

XVIII. Make the inducements for beet raising sufficient to attract the farmer, and in twenty years we will not only produce sufficient sugar for our own needs, but will, like France, be in other markets.

XIX. If beet-growing were an experiment

or the chances were that it would be a failure, then the argument against the tariff would have weight.

XX. But we have proved our ability in every particular. We have the soil, climate, labor, and money necessary to success, and can thus save an enormous sum that now goes annually out of the country for the purchase of what we ought to produce at home.

XXI. If the encouragement be given by way of a protective tariff, then the revenue thus obtained goes to the support of our own government, and all are contributors to this support. But if the French system be adopted, this revenue will be lost to the Government, and in its stead the royalty will constitute an additional burden on the national budget.

XXII. It is an open question which form of protection is the better—tariff or royalty. But whatever the means, the end to be attained is the stimulation of the production of any article that will benefit us; and the attaining of that end is good policy.

XXIII. And now, Mr. Speaker, let us for a moment review the vast benefits to accrue

from our actual production of the sugar we consume:

First. It will give the farmers of our country this vast industry as another means of promoting their prosperity.

Second. If the farmer is prosperous, all other classes are reasonably well cared for. The foundation of a nation's advancement lies in the success of its farmers.

Third. It will give so much more employment to labor.

Fourth. It will enable us to keep at home these hundreds of millions of dollars that now go abroad.

Fifth. It will cause the investment of capital, and with the employment of large sums of money in the production of sugar, all other lines of trade will be directly or indirectly benefited.

Sixth. As it saves wealth it adds to our resources.

From these particulars, Mr. Speaker, it seems as though there could be no argument to contradict the wise policy of protection to the manufacture of our own sugar.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Speaker: The able advocate of protection who has just entertained us with his arguments has attempted to explain too much. The issue, Mr.

Speaker, is not that of the benefits of protection in general, but "Is it good policy for the Government of the United States to place a tariff on sugar?"

II. It is therefore the duty of our opponents to prove that it is good policy in this particular case to enact a tariff.

III. We are not discussing the merits of protection to iron, coal, wool, manufactured goods, or any article except sugar.

IV. He rightly states that sugar is a commodity in which every man, woman, and child is interested.

V. How are they interested? In its price to the consumer; and as every individual is a consumer of sugar, its price is of material interest to him.

VI. A tariff on sugar means a tax on every individual who consumes it, and, as it has become a necessity, it is a question of debate whether we shall tax all the people, rich and poor alike, in order to stimulate its production.

VII. If we can benefit a greater number of people by a tax on sugar than we can without it, then it is good policy to place a tariff on it.

VIII. But we all know that, as it is an article used by every family, every family

would be taxed by an increase in price made solely to benefit the few who raise the cane or beet and manufacture the sugar.

IX. Sugar-making is not a new industry. Its manufacture dates back to the time of our first settlements.

X. To produce sufficient native sugar from the cane to supply the demand seems impossible, as is proven by the history of sugar-raising for over three hundred years.

XI. Cane-growing is adapted to only a small section of our territory.

XII. I contend that we cannot compare sugar, as a staple, with cotton, wheat, pork, beef, rice, wool, lumber, corn, iron, coal, or any commodity raised in this country. The latter are native to our soil, while sugar is an exotic.

XIII. Cotton is native to all the Southern States and is their great staple; wheat, pork, beef, and corn are the natural products of the temperate zone, and become staple; coal, iron, and lumber are part of Nature's bounty, and in this vast country of ours become staple. But sugar, rice, tropical fruits, and many articles of our commerce are not the natural products of our soil, and, no matter what pro-

tection may be extended to them to stimulate their production, can never reach the basis of success of products indigenous to the soil.

XIV. The question now arises, Shall we attempt an unnatural development through taxation?

XV. The experience of three hundred years demonstrates that cane is not a staple, except in a very small area.

XVI. We might place a royalty, or high protection on sugar, and induce an unnatural growth, but when the government removes its fostering care will not the industry thus established gradually lose its footing and go down into decay?

XVII. This certainly is true. To be successful, our friend's theory of protection must be perpetual; that is, the people must be taxed forever in order to sustain an industry not adapted to our natural conditions.

XVIII. But our friend claims that the issue is not the production of cane, but of sugar, and then, as we cannot raise sufficient cane, demands that the government make profitable by tariff the raising of beets from which to extract sugar.

XIX. Is it just to the seventy millions of

people to levy a tax on all of them in order to attempt to build up an industry that is an experiment?

XX. If native sugar cannot, from natural causes, become a staple, then no favoritism should be shown it at the expense of all the people.

XXI. My friend seems to lay a great stress upon the self-evident truths he specifies. Possibly we may be permitted to present a few opposing propositions:

First. Good government does not means the taxation of the many for the benefit of the few.

Second. The necessities of the people should not bear the burdens of taxation.

Third. For the government to tax such a staple article of food would be a hardship on the poor workingman.

Fourth. Wealth is but the concentration of labor's products in the hands of the fortunate, and should, rather than the bare hands of labor, be required to support the expenses of government.

Fifth. As sugar is one of the great essentials of the poor, its cost should be reduced to the lowest point possible.

Sixth. If protection fosters corporations, trusts, and monopolies, then it becomes the duty of government to change its policy and, by abolishing it, compel the reduction of prices to a natural basis.

Seventh. But we are not dealing with protection except as it relates to a tariff on sugar.

XXII. My friend thinks it would be to the great interest of our people to produce our own sugar. We do not deny this; the only question is, does not the loss on one side more than balance the gain on the other?

XXIII. It would be advantageous if we could only produce our own tea and coffee, our cocoa, our seal furs, our spices, our wool, our tropical fruits, in fact all we import, and thus give our people the whole benefit of what we consume.

XXIV. Certainly the ability to produce these commodities would add much to our resources, but it is impossible.

XXV. We cannot produce that which is not natural to our climate and soil.

XXVI. The raising of sugar beets cannot become successful except we have three conditions:

First. A peculiarly adapted soil.
Second. Sufficient capital.
Third. Cheap labor.

XXVII. Now add to this protection and you may found a successful business. But who pays the bill for protection?

XXVIII. The great factor in the success of France, Germany, and Austria in raising beet sugar is cheap labor.

XXIX. From these arguments, Mr. Speaker, I claim to have established the fact that it is not good policy for the Government to attempt to establish an industry that directly taxes the whole people, and, under the present cost of labor, cannot sustain itself after the protection is removed.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: Our opponents are not confining their statements to facts. They imply that the manufacture of sugar from beets is an experiment and consequently should not be attempted.

II. They know that the stage of experimenting has been passed successfully; that the raising of beet sugar is a success in California, Nebraska, and portions of the East.

III. If, as my friend intimates, the tariff must always remain, in order to induce a continuation of this industry, then his position may in a measure be true.

IV. But that is not the experience of pro-

tected industries. Home competition always reduces the price to the natural level he so eloquently demands.

V. By a protective tariff the manufacture of iron was achieved, and to-day, although a tariff still exists, yet steel rails, armor plate, nails, cutlery, and machinery can be produced here cheaper than in any country on the globe.

VI. It is the history of protection that capital is induced to invest in protected enterprises until they have so expanded that they lower the price through competition with each other.

VII. Competition between home industries is far better than with those of foreign countries, as the results leave all the money at home instead of sending it abroad.

VIII. Establish a thousand beet-sugar factories and in a short time the farmer can raise the beets as cheaply as they can be raised in France or Germany, and American ingenuity will do the rest.

IX. If France can start from nothing and in twelve years can produce more sugar than is required for home consumption, then America can do likewise in twenty years.

X. Is it not, then, worth this effort? We have the soil, the climate, the capital, and the labor. Why not employ them all and thus add to our wealth?

XI. Sugar cane may not be a staple except in portions of the South, but the sugar beet can be raised successfully in all the Northern States.

XII. Protection will stimulate the growth of cane in the South, develop the sorghum plant, and establish the sugar beet as the staple of communities in the North, if not in the entire temperate zone.

XIII. It may cost the people of the United States a slight sacrifice to establish the beet industry, but when once established it will be worth all it cost. We may not be so quickly successful as was France, but we possess every feature of success and we must succeed.

XIV. Our opponents seem to feel that we have no right to bring the protective tariff into the argument, as the question relates merely to the use of that policy in developing the sugar interest. We maintain that we have the right to compare the results of other protected industries as a proof of the benefits

to be derived from its application to the beet industry.

XV. That it will induce capital to build beet-sugar factories is assured.

XVI. That beet sugar is a natural product of our country is a fact.

XVII. That it is a profitable business for the farmer is clearly shown.

XVIII. That it will save hundreds of millions that now go abroad no one doubts.

XIX. That we should produce our necessaries is a maxim of economics.

XX. That every new industry enlarges the field of those depending upon employment is a self-evident truth.

XXI. And finally, if the benefits enumerated are the natural results of the development of the beet-sugar industry, then, Mr. Speaker, it must be good policy to enact laws to stimulate its growth.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Chairman: If we are to believe all that our worthy advocate who has just had the floor tries to

impress upon us, there is only one side to this issue, and that is tariff and protection.

II. But, my friends, there are two sides; and the history of the political issues of the country proves that the question has never yet been settled.

III. To-day we may advocate tariff for revenue only, but to-morrow there may be a radical change in our policy, and *vice versa.*

IV. The benefit to be derived by invested capital from a protective tariff is the greatest factor in shaping tariff laws. The influence of capital on politics is purely selfish and unmindful of the general good.

V. Trusts and monopolies result from the combinations of manufacturers fostered by a protective tariff.

VI. A protective tariff, if maintained after the industry it protects is permanently established, must continue to stimulate this interest until from its selfish power it seeks to control the entire output. It then becomes a monopoly, a trust, or a greedy corporation.

VII. As my colleague has stated, good government must represent the masses.

VIII. The moment this idea is not realized,

we cease to be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

IX. Sugar can be produced so as to retail at four cents per pound, a price within the reach of all.

X. Can we assist its production at that price by including it in the tariff-protected list?

XI. If such action adds only one cent a pound, is this not a tax of twenty-five per cent. on every pound of sugar consumed?

XII. To how many of the seventy millions of people would benefits accrue from the increased cost?

XIII. Will not every farmer who produces a ton of beets curtail just so much on some other crop?

XIV. Is it not a fact that if a farmer increases his acreage of one crop he must decrease that of another?

XV. Then, Mr. Speaker, where is the material gain?

XVI. Our friends on the other side seem to believe that the raising of two hundred million dollars' worth of sugar is a clear gain.

XVII. This is not and cannot be true. If the farmer increases his stock of sheep, he

must trim down his herds of other stock. If he increases his acreage of wheat, he must reduce the acres on other products; and if he devotes his time and energy to the raising of sugar, he must do so at a loss to other crops. Where, then, is the gain?

XVIII. I can tell you. If the returns to the farmer on his investment and labor in raising sugar beets, sorghum, or cane, are greater than on the same acreage devoted to other crops, the gain is just the difference between the returns for the beets and those for the other crops.

XIX. Should the balance not fall to the new enterprise, then the two hundred million dollars is wiped out and the cultivation of the beet becomes a loss.

XX. It is simply a question of arithmetic. What will this difference be? Are our opponents prepared to testify that the farmer can make more money raising cane, sorghum, or beets than in the production of butter, cheese, poultry, cotton, wheat, pork, garden vegetables, or any other product.

XXI. And again, if our tariff financiers can prove that there is a balance in favor of beets, can they prove that this balance is not swal-

lowed up in the twenty-five per cent. tax placed upon our seventy millions of people?

XXII. It is hardly necessary, Mr. Speaker, to attempt to figure this balance, for our present tariff has raised the price of sugar nearly twenty per cent., and the prospects are that it will reach a cent a pound. Now, my friends, as this tax will amount to more than the value of the farmers' entire crop of beets, where is the gain? It is in the hands of the sugar trust—a monstrous combination able to control, under a protective tariff, the price of every pound of sugar consumed by our people.

XXIII. Again I ask, is it wise legislation to take from the pockets of the people the value of the farmers' crop of beets, for the purpose of putting it into the hands of a powerful corporation?

XXIV. But you may ask, what would you do? I would make sugar free of any tariff, placing its makers in competition, so that this great necessity could come to the people at the lowest price possible.

I would recognize the independence of Cuba and then develop the immense resources of that fertile island, from which we receive seven-eighths of our supplies of sugar.

I would annex Hawaii, and thus give our people the advantage of the most fruitful soil in the world. Few realize the rare fertility of the Hawaiian soil in the production of sugar. Let me tell you its capability, and then ponder on the good policy of our government in entering into this competition with Hawaii and Cuba.

It is no uncommon crop to produce eight and sometimes ten tons of sugar to an acre. Many acres in this country produce but ten tons of beets to the acre, which, on the basis of twelve per cent., is but one-eighth the sugar crop of Hawaii.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I would say, develop the resources of Cuba, of Hawaii. Develop the natural products of this country. Develop enterprises that have a substantial basis. Develop industries that are adapted to our resources. Inculcate economy in production. Do not tax the necessaries of life. Remove the opportunities of the more fortunate to take advantage of the poor in the cost of living. If the poor lay down their lives in defense of their country, the rich should at least bear the expense of battle or the establishment of peace.

SECTION XXVI.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That it is not good policy for the Government of the United States to establish a system of postal savings.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.— I. Mr. President: Considerable interest is being manifested in the proposition to establish our Government as a general banker for the people.

II. This is no new scheme, as it has had its periodical displays of oratory for nearly thirty years.

III. In 1868 a bill was presented in Congress to operate a line of savings departments through the post offices of the country.

IV. The bill was discussed from every point, and finally dropped as not applicable to our conditions. Our Government was not in a position to accept the deposits of its people.

V. When Mr. Windom was Secretary of the Treasury a large and powerful organiza-

tion was formed in Philadelphia to espouse the cause of postal savings, and the Secretary was petitioned to advocate such a bill in his report to Congress. He was so much impressed with its merits that he agreed to use his good offices in its behalf.

VI. The report was never made, and when he was asked for an explanation he replied that a very important feature had been overlooked, and that was this: If the Government is to receive the deposits of the people and pay interest on them, there must be an opportunity to use this money at a rate of interest; otherwise the system would become a burden and be held in disfavor.

VII. Various plans were presented for using such deposits, and thus securing sufficient revenue to meet the interest account.

VIII. One plan was to loan money to the States; another, to recognized banks; another, to railroads, on their bonds; another, to reliable corporations; but in every plan a certain degree of insecurity and complication was apparent.

IX. Loaning to banks was only one remove from the present state of insecurity by compelling the Government really to guarantee

the deposit, and not the individual. For the Government to stand this responsibility and take all the risk was not considered good business.

X. Loaning to corporations or taking corporation bonds was equally objectionable.

XI. Loaning to States was probably the best plan once offered, but as the States were in no need of short-time loans, this, too, was not practicable. If States were to borrow, it must be for a considerable time, as their resources are not on call.

XII. The great trouble, therefore, exists in the inability of the Government safely to invest these savings, and at the same time be subjected to call and to realize a profit on such investments for meeting the expenses of the system.

XIII. We might, therefore, raise the following objections:

First. There must be a safe investment of deposits.

Second. These investments must be, like the deposits of banks, subject to call, or realization in money when needed.

Third. The revenue from said investments must meet the interest account of depositors and the expense of the system.

XIV. Until these three positive essentials are secured the postal savings plan cannot be a success.

XV. The friends to the bill advocate the buying of Government bonds as in the English system. They refer us to England as an example of a safe and convenient method of receiving deposits and investing the same.

XVI. What is the English system? It is this: Deposits are made through designated post offices, just as is proposed here. These deposits are immediately invested in Government consols, a bond that is bought and sold as a staple, with slight fluctuation in market price. These consols are never expected to be paid, and they become a fixed value upon which there is a positive and unvarying interest paid. If to-day one thousand dollars is deposited, then to-morrow one thousand dollars in consols are purchased. Should one thousand dollars be withdrawn to-day, then to-morrow one thousand dollars of consols will be sold.

XVII. These are conditions which cannot exist in this country; we do not have consols, nor do we have a permanent debt bond. It is true we have government bonds, but they are

not fixed in price; to-day they may be worth twenty per cent. premium, and to-morrow twenty-two, and the next day nineteen. Their price fluctuates according to the demand. And again the supply is limited to a few hundreds of millions, which in a few years will be paid and the English basis in America will be wiped out.

XVIII. Again, advocates are loud for the suggestion that we buy municipal bonds, especially those of recognized standing. Probably this plan is the best offered, but it is faulty in the following ways:

First. How are we to distinguish between the standings of municipalities? Who is to select the most desirable bonds? Is there a chance for favoritism or fraud? If one city is to be favored and another the reverse, would not the system produce jealousies and dissatisfaction? Would such a system receive the hearty co-operation of all the people?

Second. Such bonds may be purchased at any time, but can they be sold on demand at the same rate? Is it not true that a forced sale always results in a discount?

Third. From 1893 to 1897 it was impossible to sell bonds of any kind in the usual channels of exchange. Even government bonds could not be put up as collateral. The stringency of the money market absolutely precluded any satisfactory sale of securities. During these years, suppose the Government had invested the deposits

of the people in these securities—how could they realize when depositors wanted their money? Who can say that this condition will not return again? We may be able to hypothecate to-day, but can we do so ten years hence?

XIX. These are the objections that exist to every system offered, and until there is a perfect plan of redemption the good policy of the Government will be to let postal savings alone.

XX. Another feature for objection is the vast system of banking which would result from this widespread plan to receive deposits from almost every hamlet in the land. Suppose the system established; we may not classify these thousands of deposit places as banks, but they are branches of the great central bank at Washington, and, although they may be designated as postal savings departments, yet they are to all intents and purposes deposit banks with bank forms of business—in fact, they are banks.

XXI. Now, Mr. President, is it policy to establish ten thousand banks and thus increase the burden of government? Is it policy to enter upon this extensive business without perfect security? But you may ask

how can the savings of the people be secure under the present system. I will say, adopt the system of China. The Chinese decapitate bank officials whenever there is a bank failure and the depositors lose by their acts. There has been but one failure in five hundred years. Possibly this drastic measure would be too severe for American bankers, but it is my impression there would be fewer failures after about twenty-five hundred had suffered the penalty.

XXII. In place of capital punishment we might confiscate all the property of stockholders as assets.

XXIII. Properly protect the present depositors, and the demand for postal savings will disappear.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. Mr. Speaker: My friend who has so ably protested against the adoption of postal savings for the people does not present any plan by which to secure deposits. He says, enact protective laws; resort to capital punishment; compel the private property of stockholders to be respon-

sible. This may be good theory, but we have had bank failures for over two hundred years and yet we are no nearer the solution of this question of safety than when banks were first established. In fact, it does seem as though we are farther from it than then.

II. It has become an everyday occurrence for banks to fail and the savings of the people to be wiped out. Is there no redress? My friend says there is, but past experience says the present system is a failure.

III. We cannot resort to Chinese methods, neither can we adopt personal responsibility; we are at the mercy of our bankers in our business transactions.

IV. It is true officials are criminally liable for receiving deposits after they know they are insolvent. But that does not affect the system. Men may be honest in their investment of other people's money, and in the acceptance of deposits up to the point of insolvency; yet the door is open to loss, without any evil intention.

V. The experience of the last four years demonstrates that almost any form of government control is preferable to the present state of things.

VI. We need postal savings for the following reasons:

First. To secure absolute safety for the people's savings.

Second. To teach the laudable practice of economy, even though on a small scale at first.

Third. To stop private hoarding because of the lack of confidence in our banking institutions.

Fourth. To induce thrift and the stoppage of unnecessary expense.

VII. When once our working people become assured that there is an absolutely safe deposit then there will be an incentive to reserve a portion of their earnings, but with the feeling that one may be robbed, or the bank may fail, there is no proper encouragement to would-be economists.

VIII. The argument advanced that such a system would be a burden to the Government is not good in logic. The Government never gets tired. We inaugurate a system, and the routine of business goes on unvaryingly. It is no more a burden to handle eighty thousand post offices than it was ten thousand. It would be no greater burden to control the entire railroad systems of the country than it is to handle four-fifths of

them through receivers. It will be no more of a burden to handle ten thousand postal saving banks than it is to have but one. In fact it is no burden to do anything the people desire to have done. The Government never gets tired and never gets hungry. It is the same night and day; day, week, and year. It knows no such thing as a burden. The Government is the central power of the people and capable of meeting any or all requirements.

IX. That a necessity exists for the Government to open its hands and receive the earnings of the people for safe keeping is manifest from everyday experience; and how best to solve this problem is the great question of the future.

X. The opponents of a savings department build their objections upon the inability of the Government to use these deposits to advantage and meet the expense of the system. If this can be done, I doubt not that all objections will be removed and a postal savings department will be established.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Mr. President: I rise to a question of privilege and wish to make

a statement to the advocates for this system of a government savings department.

PRESIDING OFFICER.—If it is the wish of the speaker who has the floor to permit a statement I grant the request.

SPEAKER.—I yield the floor to our opponent for a short discussion of whatever he may present.

OPPONENT.—As I am to follow the speaker who has the floor, I desire that he shall present a plan that is perfect in construction. If he will outline a system by which he can safely and economically use the deposits of the people, I shall be in favor of granting him the palm of victory. But unless it is plainly shown that there is no risk for the Government and people, then we must insist that there can be no postal savings until such a system is discovered. That there is a need of security for those who have money to deposit for future use is an evident fact, but how can this guaranteed safety be acquired? It is a question which is being pressed by the workingmen of every city. Recently, over two hundred and seventy thousand organized laborers have signed this petition. It is a question that will not down, and although it

is not good policy at the present time to organize this system, yet we must face the necessity which will arise in the future, and either adopt some plan or conclusively prove our inability to inaugurate a movement equipped with all the necessary arrangements to make it a permanent success. As it is useless to attempt to pattern after England, we must act upon our own conditions. A change must not be an experiment, but an assured fact based upon a constant and reliable foundation of equality, usefulness, and confidence. There can be no guesswork; no chance of being subjected to panics or adverse trade; no depending upon the general stock market; no hypothecated securities which cannot be turned into money; no investment that cannot be exchanged for a currency without discount. These are the requirements which must be adopted before it is a wise policy for our government to go into this vast system of banking.

Are our advocates of a postal savings system, under the direction of the Federal Government, prepared to present such a measure? Remember the question reads, Is it policy to adopt a system of deposits; not

that there is a necessity for improvement, but is a change, so radical, possible. A Chicago newspaper is the great champion of postal savings, but its system depends upon the purchase of good municipal bonds. And yet, at its best, this plan is subject to the fluctuations of market demands. To-day the five per cent. bonds of Rockford, Ill., may be worth a premium of six per cent., but if forced to sell to-morrow, will they bring more than their par value? As there are no stabilities in price of any stock or commodity, we, in adopting this line of securities, must acknowledge the unreliability of this plan for a stable basis of operation. My friend will now confine his arguments to other systems than those already advanced by himself or outside advocates of a postal savings department.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: By the advice of my colleague I will continue his exposition of the subject. First, let me assure my friend who has so emphatically declared that ours is not good policy, that we are not depending upon Chicago newspapers, or upon any system or theory advanced by any of those who think they see safety in such a use of deposits as has been suggested in this dis-

cussion. We do not depend upon any system not in perfect sympathy with all our people. We hope to secure considerable benefits, at both ends of the transaction. We propose to take no chances in the stock market; to take no chances in panics or adverse trade, to deal in no securities of a doubtful nature. It is a system new and original, but resting upon the strongest basis ever conceived for the adoption of a department of deposits and their use by the Government for the general good of those who patronize the new departure.

II. At first thought the system may appear too broad in its scope, but upon investigation and careful analysis it shows a wonderful progress in the "science of finance." It solves the question in a way that commands the respect of every laboring man, every man who desires to borrow, and every man who pays taxes. It will be the business man's friend, and its enemies are those who live by usury and extortion. If only these are opposed we may safely proceed to announce what is the groundwork of this mighty structure.

III. In the establishment of postal savings

departments there are two things to be considered:

First. A proper system of receiving the people's money and a prompt return when called for.

Second. A safe system of investments by which these moneys may be used at a profit above the expense of the system.

IV. The first point we will not discuss, as it becomes only a matter of application of our present knowledge. Our discussion will be confined to the use of deposits and a safe and practical method of return.

V. Now let us conceive the system as already established, and for the better understanding of its details we will place the loaning of money under five heads, namely:

First. The State.
Second. The county.
Third. The city.
Fourth. The town.
Fifth. The real estate.

VI. In the case of the State, we suppose that the commonwealth desires to borrow one hundred thousand dollars to make improvements, and instead of issuing bonds at a high

rate of interest and asking money-loaners to buy, we issue a pledge to the General Government as security for this loan at two per cent. interest; the money being drawn from the postal savings department.

VII. A county desires to build a court-house, or to make other improvements, at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars. Application is made through the State, at 2½ per cent. interest; the State retaining one half per cent. for guaranteeing the loan.

VIII. A city desires to borrow money for public improvements. Application is made through the State, at 2½ per cent. interest; the State retaining one-half per cent. for guaranteeing the loan.

IX. A town desires to borrow five thousand dollars to build a bridge, or for other improvements. Application is made through the county at three per cent. interest; the county retaining one-half per cent. for services in guaranteeing the loan.

X. A citizen of a town or city desires to borrow money on real estate. Application is made to the town board, or city officials, and after proper inspection of abstract, valuation, and a careful review of every necessary detail

the money is loaned at four per cent. interest; the town retaining one per cent. as assurance for guaranteeing the loan and the transaction of the business.

XI. In this division of loans the State becomes responsible to the General Government for all moneys loaned to the State at two per cent. interest.

XII. The county becomes responsible to the State for all moneys loaned to the county at 2½ per cent. interest.

XIII. The city becomes responsible to the State for all moneys loaned to the city 2½ per cent. interest.

XIV. The town becomes responsible to the county for all moneys loaned to the town at three per cent. interest.

XV. Individuals give mortgage security to the town at four per cent. interest.

XVI. By this system every dollar of interest thus paid goes to the support of the various forms of government: the town retains one per cent., the county one-half per cent., the State one-half per cent., and the General Government two per cent.; thus relieving the burdens of taxation to the extent of all the interest paid.

HOW TO ACCOMPLISH IT.

XVII. The Government institutes postal savings banks on an approved system and pays on deposits as follows:

Deposits of sums of $10 or less, no interest. Deposits above $10, six months' time, two per cent. interest.

XVIII. Secured by these postal savings departments all moneys deposited are positively safe, as the Government of the United States is behind them and there can be no bank failures, with losses to depositors. This will be a great blessing to poor people. Besides security, it gives them the advantage of two per cent. interest. This offer of the Government to take any or all money not in actual use illustrates the great principle of equalizing supply and demand. If the money is not needed in business or in circulation, it is handed over to the Government, and when wanted is called out again. In this way the people are accommodated and given a little interest, and the security is positive. Should the call for money, either for loans or return to depositors, be greater than the accumulated supply, the Government can issue a

full legal-tender currency to supply the deficiency. To those who are opposed to any government issue for fear of inflation or a depreciated currency, I will say that there is no ground for this fear. The Government offers to redeem every such dollar not needed, through its postal department, by a two per cent. deposit check, or in other words a bond, and thus equalize supply and demand.

XIX. The department of loans will supply the demand, and the best security in the world will be given to protect its value, and the deposits will regulate the volume of currency needed in the business by returning to the Government every dollar not needed. It thus solves the difficult problem of how to procure a perfect system. The volume is perfectly elastic. It goes out in loans and comes back in interest and payments of these loans and in deposits. The method is a constant series of loans and redemptions, and at no time can there be a volume of money beyond the necessities of the people. The security cannot be questioned, and consequently there can be no depreciation. It does not interfere with banks, or with a gold or silver coinage. These are left free to go on just as may best

advance the welfare of those interested in them.

XX. Banking on the scale now in vogue will cease. The postal savings departments will be a great competitor, and as banks depend upon their deposits for a large share of their profits the banking business will not be so extensive as at present. But where they lose the people will gain. It simply reverses the present holders of the securities. Now we sell our bonds and mortgages to those who will loan to us. Under this plan we transfer our obligations to the Government and all our real estate becomes security for it, and in compensation the interest account goes to the support of the several forms of government.

XXI. I hold in my hand a little volume entitled, "The Science of Finance," by A. H. Craig, Mukwonago, Wis. Let me read a few lines on p. 135:

REQUIREMENTS.

First. State, county, city, town, borrow on a proper form of agreement.

Second. The individual, on real estate.

Third. No loan can be made on real estate for more than half its actual value.

Fourth. No unimproved real estate can be classed as proper security for any loan.

Fifth. Actual residence, by owner or tenant, must be acknowledged before a loan is considered.

Sixth. No loan can be made to an alien.

Seventh. Each officer must personally inspect the real estate offered for security.

Eighth. After a loan is agreed upon, the clerk shall hold the same in his office for two months, subject to the inspection of the public.

Thus it continues to delineate the entire system, but I will now turn to another page and read you a review of conditions as they will exist, in this "Science of Finance":

(*a*) The United States Government has each State for security; therefore it is a perfect security, as well as a revenue.

(*b*) The State is secured by each county and city; therefore it is perfect security, as well as a revenue.

(*c*) The county is secured by each town; therefore it is perfect security, as well as a revenue.

(*d*) Each town is secured by first mortgage on improved real estate, at one-half its valuation; therefore it is gilt-edge security, as well as a revenue.

(*e*) The whole is a perfect system of controlling and equalizing this volume of currency, and furnishing money directly to the people at a rate of interest that will "live and let live."

(*f*) The currency cannot depreciate, as it is full legal

tender and convertible into certificates of deposit at any postal savings department.

(*g*) The volume of currency is exactly what the needs of the people call for.

(*h*) The General Government must always be on the profit side, as every dollar loaned is at two per cent. interest, and money returned on deposit cannot exceed two per cent. interest, small sums nothing, while larger sums must remain six months, as is now practiced by the banks.

(*i*) No money returned to the Government in deposits, or payment of loans, can be used for any other purpose, except the annual net earnings of the interest.

(*j*) It is a simple transaction of business pledges between each department, except that which relates to the individual, in which mortgages are given and recorded as now.

(*k*) The profit on one per cent. to the town is more than ought to be allowed, but as it is the only place where security can be questioned, it is best to make it in the form of insurance, so in case there is a failure the previous profits will more than compensate for the loss.

(*l*) The one per cent. will materially lessen taxation in the town and be highly appreciated by the tax-payer.

(*m*) The safeguard thrown around the loaning of money to individuals is such that it must be an extraordinary occasion by which any loss could occur.

(*n*) It is the only system ever devised by which panics, failures, or adverse trade cannot affect loans, deposits, or the foreclosure of a debt.

(*o*) As bankers or money-loaners have nothing to do with this system, there can be no runs, no uneasiness, no fears.

(*p*) The expansion of money rests upon the needs of the people, and its return to the Government is always open.

(*q*) This department of finance has nothing to do with the issue of gold or silver, or with banking and other lines of government business.

(*r*) It is instituted for the benefit of all who desire a positively safe investment in deposits, and to bring relief to the farmer, or any recognized real estate, on an even basis, no matter whether it is East or West, North or South. All can secure money on proper security at four per cent. interest.

(*s*) The effect will be to lower the rate of interest in all business, and thus give a better opportunity to compete in any market.

(*t*) The people must be protected in their savings and deposits and at the same time they must be relieved from a high rate of interest, and money must not be held in a corner. By Government loaning and receiving there can never be a stringency in the money markets, and no advantages can be taken to raise the rate of interest, or excuses for foreclosures. It will remain the same to-day, to-morrow, next week, next year—a perfect financial system, in which all are on the same equal basis.

Affirmative.

FIFTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: I have been an attentive listener to Mr. Craig's theory of his Postal Savings Department in all its features. I will admit it has a pleasant

sound. He has conjured up a fascinating *ignis fatuus* whose light is calculated to allure all who behold it, but when wanted for practical use, it disappears and is lost in the darkness. Eloquence has a mesmeric influence, and we are now under the spell. The appeal for this system is indeed touching in the possibilities it hints at, but, my friends, we must tear off the veil that hides the true situation and view it from the practical standpoint of actual life.

II. I will briefly call your attention to the following inconsistencies:

First. States are held as responsible to the Government, and through them all loans and collections are made. Some States can be classed as reliable and secure, but there are some which have repudiated their debts, and we must allow for the possibility that they may do so again.

Second. There might be vast sums demanded for loans beyond the deposits, and then there might be issued an unlimited quantity of paper currency, and all experience proves that such issues become open to suspicion and depreciation in the money markets of the world.

Third. All banks, money-lenders, trusts, and combinations will be opposed to the plan, as it largely regulates the rate of interest and takes from their business a vast amount of high-interest-bearing mortgages. It places the Government in the field as a competitor for all loans and deposits. As well might

we insist upon our Government building immense factories and furnishing clothing to the poor at cost, or turn Government lands into wheatfields and bake bread for the needy. One is just as sensible as the other. Banking and loaning money are a business just the same as any other. Banks are indispensable in the transaction of business. For the Government to establish ten thousand banks is a simple absurdity.

Fourth. It is the function of government to protect the people in their lives, liberty, and the transaction of business. To encroach upon private enterprise is a piece of tyranny that should not be tolerated. We have no right to loan money to States, counties, cities, towns, or individuals. It will encourage corruption, fraud, and misappropriation. It is open to censure on every hand. Town officials will look for "boodle"—to use a homely phrase—in the granting of loans and in their collection. It is opening the treasury doors to theft under the form of law. It will destroy confidence in the stability of money. It will cause depreciation, confiscation, and repudiation. By depreciation we destroy the value of currency. By confiscation we rob the creditor, by the payment of a debt in cheap money. By repudiation we establish a new system and overthrow the old. The whole idea is indeed an *ignis fatuus*, to entice the unwary into the slough of untrustworthy finance.

Negative.

SIXTH SPEAKER.—I. Mr. President: Was the speaker who just occupied the floor in

earnest, or was he building upon the prejudices of the past? As he had the effrontery to denounce the whole plan as untrustworthy and something very like a fraud, I must apologize for going over the ground once more.

II. In his first objection he attacks the States as financially unreliable. It is outrageous to question the faithfulness and integrity of any State as it now exists. "Let the dead past bury its dead." Conditions have changed; we see business revived, immigration encouraged, credit restored, and prosperity assured. The fact that Louisiana and Minnesota once repudiated a debt need cause no apprehension now. They had their reasons then, but to-day are as reliable as is New York or Wisconsin. Let us dismiss this objection as unjust, cruel, and not worthy consideration.

III. In the second point, we see the hallucination of an irredeemable issue of unlimited currency—a depreciated money!

Now, my friends, such currency is not issued in the way the previous speaker represents. While redemption in coin is not expressly provided for, yet we are offered a certificate of deposit, or, in other words, a

Government bond, drawing interest. Besides, every such dollar has a basis of value—the mortgage, the town, the county, the city, the State. When the obligation is paid the issue must be redeemed. The over-issues which my friend describes are nothing more than clearing-house certificates to meet the wants of the day. If a dollar is not needed in business or in any wants of the people, it is returned to the Postal Savings Department. There is no chance for depreciation, no questioning of security behind it, no object in repudiation, and no question of its redemption.

IV. As for the third objection, we are well aware that bankers and money-loaners will oppose the new departure. It is their business to retain the control of money and its rate of interest. They consider themselves the "divinely appointed" custodians of the people's money and its measure of supply. These people will denounce the plan as a wild and visionary scheme. Of course they will, for it destroys the death-dealing usury that is now consuming more than all the profits of farming and business. It fixes a price for money, and they will fight in opposition; of course they will!

V. My friend seeks to make a point by his Government factories for the benefit of the poor. They have no bearing on the question. The issuing of money is something on which Government must place its approval. It is the great medium of exchange. It is not wealth, but the recognized means by which we reckon wealth. We do not question the right of banks to loan money or collect the interest, but we do not recognize the right of those institutions to control the volume of money and its price. We do not recognize that these institutions have any more right to receive the savings of the people, and then squander them in speculations, than the Government has to establish postal savings departments and receive their deposits for safe-keeping. We do not recognize the exclusive right of money-lenders to hold all the bonds and mortgages of the people. We do not recognize the right of money-lenders to stipulate what shall be the rate of interest, any more than for railroads to set the price of transportation.

When corporations are unjust, extortionate, or usurious we have the right to step in to the rescue.

VII. The last objection is a long tirade on the possibilities of abuse, corruption, misappropriation, favoritism, "boodleism," and fraud.

If my friend will study the "Science of Finance," he will see that the doors are closed. There is absolutely no room or opportunity for fraud. In the first place every officer is placed under bonds for the faithful performance of his duties. Nothing is done under cover. A man applies for a loan, and for two months it is open to inspection and protest by the taxpayers. Suppose, by some means, a future security falls below the value of the debt. It was an honest transaction. It had received the approval of those who must meet the loss. The taxpayers receive one per cent. revenue for the insurance, and in doing so they accept the responsibility of its value. It is not giving something for nothing. The system pays its way in every department. My friend declares it will destroy confidence in our currency. Must I repeat that this currency is secured by the best basis the world ever saw? Must I repeat that it is open to redemption any moment you desire to exchange

it for an interest-bearing certificate of deposit?

VIII. My friend likens it to the *ignis fatuus,* with surroundings of mystery and suspicion. Why should he do this? It is not a floating irresponsibility without substance and power, but a reality, with power to collect and substance to redeem. It contains all the cautions of business and all the responsibilities of Government. Consider these six points in connection with the suggested plan:

First. It provides for a safe deposit for the people, with a fair compensation.

Second. It furnishes money at a rate of interest that is in accord with the profits of business.

Third. It relieves taxation to the amount of interest paid.

Fourth. It becomes a source of revenue for the several departments of government.

Fifth. It establishes a perfect system for the equalization of the volume of money.

Sixth. It is for the benefit of the farmer, the business man, and the laborer. The farmer in Kansas or Nebraska is on the same interest basis as the farmer in New York. The manufacturer can produce at a less cost, for the price of money will be reduced; and the laborer is secure in his earnings, with the prospect of better times when money seeks employment.

QUESTIONS OUTLINED.

In the early portion of this book general instruction was given as to the formation of a debating society and the rules which should govern it. Some hints on the subject of political economy were offered, and then the reader was introduced to the floor of the literary arena, and he was shown how to comport himself so as to emerge therefrom with credit. The debates which followed each Resolution were rather more than sketched. While it was by no means intended that the prospective disputant should conduct his share of the debate by delivering *memoriter* the contents of the book, still it is undeniable that memory might fairly be regarded as playing an important part, and that each debate would require but slight elaboration to comprehend all that would be likely to occur to the mind of the ordinary speaker on each subject that was suggested.

We now come to the outlined matter, and here a different method has been followed. In this division of the work numerous points have been given to suggest argument—to prompt the mind, as it were. When the reader has studied these indications—for they claim to be no more—he can use them at his discretion. It is by no means necessary to adopt their language or to follow the order of printing. Let him beware of using these points verbatim, for they have been, of set purpose, so thrown together as to make that procedure inadvisable. Indeed, it cannot be too strongly insisted on that to use this manual "parrot fashion" will lead to disaster. The temptation is strong, when one's time has been too much occupied to do justice to a subject, to try the "rote" method, but better far to sit in silence than to be guilty of any such absurdity.

With these few words of preface and of caution, the author commends the Questions Outlined to the reader.

SECTION XXVII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That it is for the best interests of all the people for the Government to own and control the coal mines.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. Of all the commodities of earth, there is none, with the possible exception of iron, of such vast importance as coal.

II. Its use is universal.

III. It is the first element in the production of steam, electricity, light, heat; it is a necessity to transportation and manufacture, and is in use in every avenue of trade.

IV. Coal smelts the iron, produces the steam that drives the locomotive and marine engine, enabling us to span continents, annihilate distance, and make neighbors of peoples distant from each other.

V. Stop the output of coal mines and you stop the hum of machinery, clog the wheels of

commerce, and inflict on mankind financial distress.

VI. The baleful results of the recent strike in the bituminous coal fields are a demonstration of the danger to society of a system so capable of harm.

VII. The vast coal fields are owned by trusts and monopolies.

VIII. They regulate the output and dictate the price.

IX. The price is not stable. It may be two dollars a ton, or it may be any price.

X. All industry is subjected to the results of this fluctuation and unsettling of the price of commodities.

XI. In times of business depression the price of coal always advances.

XII. Under government control strikes cannot exist, output is never limited, and prices are never made arbitrary.

XIII. The object of government is not avarice, but public good.

XIV. Beyond the point of self-support, it is the object of government to increase output and decrease cost.

XV. By this system industries would not be overtaxed in the purchase of coal.

XVI. A stable basis for the reckoning of values would be secured.

XVII. We would not rob the poor.

XVIII. Strikes never occur among government employees.

XIX. A prevention of the strike evil is sufficient reason to sustain this resolution.

XX. We would lessen the cost of transportation, of manufacture, of heat, power, light, and construction.

XXI. Government ownership would reduce the cost of the necessaries of life.

XXII. It would increase the value of labor.

XXIII. As air, water, land, and coal are the great gifts of nature, there should be no individual control by which God's people do not have the fullest benefit.

XXIV. As coal is necessary to society, if you levy a tribute you disturb civilization.

XXV. Limit its output by a decree of corporations or increase its price arbitrarily, and you shake from center to circumference the business of the nation.

XXVI. It is just as easy for our Government successfully to manage our coal mines as

to manage the post office, the army, the navy, or any other governmental department.

XXVII. The greater the undertaking, the more complete the system.

XXVIII. It is no burden to the Government to assume this new responsiblity.

XXIX. If this responsibility required the employment of all the people, it would make no difference to government, which is an institution that is constant, perpetual, wise, and unselfish.

XXX. People should not be overtaxed for the necessities of life.

XXXI. Individual ownership always seeks for profit, and the greater the possession the greater the avarice.

XXXII. All industries require iron. Let us produce it at the least price possible.

XXXIII. We all breathe air, give it to us pure; we drink water, let it be free from disease; we need warmth, and as nature provides the wherewith to produce it, let it be as cheap as possible.

XXXIV. We discuss a wider scope for the distribution of the mails; why not a better distribution of coal?

XXXV. We lay a protective tariff for the

benefit of manufacturers; why not benefit them by economizing in the cost of the great factor of power?

XXXVI. Long live government ownership of coal mines! It destroys monopoly and avarice, attains economy, relieves the poor, and establishes stability.

Negative.

I. It is true coal is of vast importance, and its general distribution is one of the great reasons why government ownership and control are not practicable.

II. Theories are good on paper, but application is their test.

III. If there were a few mines only we might consider that application, but there are many.

IV. Our opponents compare the management of post offices, the army, the navy, and other governmental departments to the management of our mines. This comparison is again theoretical and not practical, because each mine is a separate institution and must require a separate system.

V. Each mine must depend upon its loca-

tion, facilities for transportation, extent, quality of its coal, and cost of labor.

VI. Coal cannot be mined as cheaply under government control as by private enterprise.

VII. No government work is done as economically as that by private corporations.

VIII. This is proven by comparison of government with contract work.

IX. There is a natural tendency to bleed Uncle Sam whenever there is an opportunity.

X. See its effects in public buildings, river and harbor improvements, transportation of mails, army contracts—in fact, every branch of contract work.

XI. To own the mines will require an investment amounting to billions.

XII. To operate them the expense would be gigantic.

XIII. To market the product would tax the ingenuity of the Government.

XIV. Governments cannot give credit.

XV. Large consumers are given time and credit, and any change must impose hardships.

XVI. We might as well try to own the farms of the country.

XVII. If coal mines were leased, the same conditions would exist as now.

XVIII. To avoid these conditions the coal would have to be mined by government and sold directly to the consumer.

XIX. It would be impossible to make a price fair to all.

XX. The great factor of inequality in cost is transportation.

XXI. To put in practice the theory as it is presented, government must own its own transportation.

XXII. This means billions more of investments.

XXIII. It is not practicable.

XXIV. It is contrary to common sense.

XXV. It is a maxim of business that profit regulates the output of any commodity.

XXVI. If it is more profitable to mine two tons than one, then capital will mine two.

XXVII. It is not business to mine more than needed for the demand.

XXVIII. Coal is so widely scattered that the output cannot be limited to an extent to make the cost burdensome.

XXIX. It is the history of any trust that inflated prices will stimulate competition.

XXX. It is in the power of government to control the price of transportation, as is shown

by laws passed to regulate passenger and freight rates.

XXXI. If it is proven that the cost of any public necessity like transportation, money, water, air, light, or power, is burdensome, it can be controlled by government and made to conform to reasonable prices.

XXXII. The same is true of coal.

XXXIII. Strikes will soon be controlled by government.

XXXIV. Arbitration is the next great feature of settlements, as is the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate the rates of transportation.

XXXV. The object of government is to protect the lives and liberties of the people, guaranteeing them security in their possessions.

XXXVI. Government was never instituted to do business, but to grant equal privileges to all.

XXXVII. It is not necessary for labor to be employed by government to get its just reward.

XXXVIII. Civilization depends upon the manner in which the people are governed.

XXXIX. The greater the number of oppor-

tunities for bleeding the public treasury, the more bad government. It is these opportunities that induce corruption.

XL. Remove the cause rather than increase it.

XLI. Devote the good offices of government to establishing a system of arbitration of differences between capital, labor, and consumption, rather than enter the field of competition.

XLII. It would be an impossibility for government to prospect for gold, silver, copper, nickel, tin, and then develop the mines.

XLIII. The allurement of gain is the motive power of man.

XLIV. It is a known fact that there is no profit in mining gold or silver, except for the few.

XLV. Where one man brings home gold from the mines, many fail.

XLVI. We hear of the successful mines only and not of the thousands of cases of adversity.

XLVII. Regulate strikes, transportation, unjust burdens, and you do all that can be done by government for the people.

SECTION XXVIII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That trusts and monopolies are a positive injury to the people, financially.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. What are trusts?

II. What are monopolies?

III. Some of the most important trusts are sugar, coal, nails, malt, beer, liquors, lumber, coffee, copper, light, transportation, manufactured articles, insurance, barbed wire, glass, school books.

IV. Some of the most important monopolies are kerosene oil, matches, screws, tin, crackers, city franchises, stockyards, telephones, telegraph, express, money, registered stock, patents, organized labor, protective tariff.

V. Trusts and monopolies both combine capital to prevent competition.

VI. The sugar trust forces a tribute, through the tariff, on every man, woman, and child, and the oil trust controls, through its immense capital, a complete monopoly of the business.

VII. It is said when the oil barons donate a million to a charitable object they raise the price of oil one-fourth cent, and thus make two millions profit.

VIII. Coal is a necessity, as all forms of industry depend upon its heat for motive power.

IX. The coal trust limits the output and regulates the prices.

X. There is practically no competition in coal, sugar, lumber, railroad transportation, insurance, and many manufactured articles.

XI. Without competition the price is regulated according to the desires of those in control.

XII. Screws should be produced at one-fourth their present cost.

XIII. Two immense combinations for the control of matches and biscuits have had a widespread notoriety as a complete monopoly in the one case and a gigantic trust in the other.

XIV. City franchises yield millions to those holding the monopoly.

XV. Every monopoly and trust is supported by its levy upon the people.

XVI. The stockyards of the country are a huge imposition on the people.

XVII. Gas and electric-light companies are based upon agreements or trusts.

XVIII. Railroads are both trusts and monopolies. They agree to schedule rates, and tax all products every possible dollar consistent with getting the patronage of the trader.

XIX. The schedule of rates of railroads depends upon how much an article will stand.

XX. A carload of one kind of product may cost twice as much as another, though both are drawn by the same engine.

XXI. The telephone has made its scores of millions by its complete monopoly.

XXII. The same is true of telegraphs.

XXIII. Express companies take care to have no competition in prices.

XXIV. Registered horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, fowls, soon form a monopoly.

XXV. Lumber is controlled by trusts.

XXVI. Money is the greatest monopoly of

them all. Its price is controlled by banks and money loaners, and every debtor must pay it tribute.

XXVII. Insurance stands aloof from competition except in the soliciting of orders. Its price is regulated by the trust governing both fire and life transactions.

XXVIII. Patents are awarded for the purpose of stimulating inventions, but they result in a complete monopoly.

XXIX. Organized labor is a pledge to maintain prices.

XXX. Manufactured articles of almost every description are held either in a trust or absolute monopoly.

XXXI. A protective tariff produces a monopoly for the benefit of capital.

XXXII. A tariff is a tax.

XXXIII. The consumer of tariff-laid articles pays the tax.

XXXIV. Every increase in the price of an article must be met by the consumer.

XXXV. Trusts and monopolies have no hearts or consciences.

XXXVI. Organized labor seeks to maintain its price, while monopolies and trusts seek to break the price of labor.

XXXVII. Nearly all business is going into the hands of corporations.

XXXVIII. The object is to maintain prices and prevent competition.

XXXIX. This becomes dangerous to the investment of small capital.

XL. It tends toward centralization of power.

XLI. It prevents opportunities for the poor.

XLII. The time was when a young man said, What business shall I engage in? Now it is, What can I get to do?

XLIII. Small institutions are frozen out.

XLIV. Combined capital is a menace to good government.

XLV. It buys its franchises and its legislation.

XLVI. It places the wealth of the nation in the hands of the few.

XLVII. More people are obliged to depend upon daily labor.

XLVIII. We have to choose between overthrow of monopolies or overthrow of popular government.

Negative.

I. There are always two sides to a question.

II. A trust is simply a co-operation of capital.

III. A monopoly is the sole ownership of a product, a business, or institution.

IV. What has the great sugar trust done? It has made the dirty brown sugar a pure white. It has reduced the price. It has increased the consumption, and through protection it is possible to raise all our sugar and thus save $200,000,000 to our farmers.

V. Compare the price of sugar now with the price twenty years ago.

VI. Capital is always seeking to reduce the cost of production.

VII. It costs more to produce an article with a small capital than it does with a large one.

VIII. Has the consumer of oil good basis for objecting to the oil companies as they are conducted at present?

IX. Originally oil was one dollar and fifty cents a gallon.

X. It is now about ten cents.

XI. This monopoly has continually developed the oil fields and reduced the price of the commodity by methods of piping, tanking, refining, and transportation.

XII. We ought to be thankful for cheap oil.

XIII. The same can be said of coal.

XIV. Vast capital has reduced its price by owning and operating its own cars, special railroads, docks, boats, and all other necessary equipment.

XV. It is the object of capital to see that coal is always accessible.

XVI. When business calls for oil or coal these monopolies are on hand.

XVII. Small companies cannot give sufficient quantities.

XVIII. Business might become paralyzed were there any danger of a short supply of coal.

XIX. Sometimes competition ruins its own business by underselling and thus producing a glut in the market.

XX. Trusts are started for the purpose of sustaining prices.

XXI. In this respect trusts must be beneficial.

XXII. Competition does more harm than it does good.

XXIII. Two grocery stores commence to sell by competition. Both are ruined.

XXIV. Better have a stable price than one subject to fluctuation.

XXV. The price of screws is not a serious matter.

XXVI. Matches were never so cheap, and could never have been produced at so small a cost but for the Match Trust.

XXVII. But for this trust we would pay three times the present price for matches.

XXVIII. City franchises in themselves form an important problem.

XXIX. See what these franchises have done. They have furnished every business house with a telephone, with light, with heat, and made it possible to live comfortably ten miles from business.

XXX. They have enabled us to exchange the horse for the elevated, the cable, or the electric car.

XXXI. They have given efficient transportation.

XXXII. They give value received in the shape of transportation, or light, or power.

XXXIII. The stockyards make it possible for any farmer to send his stock to market without accompanying it.

XXXIV. They are a great convenience.

XXXV. They transport stock from one part of the country to the other.

XXXVI. What have railroads done?

XXXVII. They have opened vast territories.

XXXVIII. They form the great medium of communication between all branches of commerce.

XXXIX. Prices are gradually being reduced.

XL. Railroads have not prospered generally, therefore they do not exact too much for the advantages they bring.

XLI. Four-fifths of all our railroads have been in the hands of receivers.

XLII. Money is not a monopoly; it is a medium of exchange.

XLIII. Insurance is based upon the history of liabilities.

XLIV. It is a common saying that trusts and monopolies have no hearts, but this is due to their business methods of acting in every particular; the object being to reduce

cost. Small capital will overlook these small things that are profits to the big institutions.

XLV. If corporations can do better in prices for the people, why should anyone object?

XLVI. Conditions are constantly changing as a country grows older.

XLVII. Honest men exist just the same, capital or no capital.

XLVIII. Patents may become a monopoly, but if we do not give them this opportunity we will have no Edison, Watts, Bell, Westinghouse, or any inventive genius.

XLIX. Monopoly and trusts have induced capital to engage in vast enterprises, which have been of great benefit to the people.

SECTION XXIX.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That cities should own and control all the public franchises now conferred upon corporations.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. Public sentiment is rapidly being educated to the benefits of government ownership.

II. These franchises are for street railroads, gas, electric light, and water.

III. Most cities now own their waterworks.

IV. Corporation waterworks have never been satisfactory. The promoters sought profit rather than quality.

V. Cities control water chiefly for sanitary reasons.

VI. Good water must be secured, otherwise health is endangered.

VII. At first one imagines the water system

of a great city must be complicated because of its thousands of customers.

VIII. It is a system requiring perfect management.

IX. Cities take upon themselves these necessities for public benefit: sewerage, paving, quarantine, ventilation, cleanliness, construction of bridges, parks, waterworks, canals, dredging, schoolhouses, etc.

X. Why not own their own light and city transportation?

XI. It is because there is money for corporations in these franchises.

XII. City boodling comes more from matters connected with franchises than in any other way.

XIII. More fortunes have been made through the granting of franchises than by any other means.

XIV. Government is just as competent to handle these special necessities as those of a general character.

XV. A gas or electric plant is no more of an undertaking than its water system, delivery of mails, sewerage, police service, etc.

XVI. The profit in light is immense.

XVII. Fortunes are made in this necessity.

XVIII. The following from General Benjamin Harrison is worthy consideration:

NEW YORK, October 1, 1897.

Of special importance are the safeguards to be thrown about the granting of franchises to the promoters of great schemes for the public service. In this respect there are valuable lessons to be learned from late foreign experiments. Some of the principal cities of Scotland have assumed each the control of its street railway systems and its lighting plants, as well as its waterworks. The results of this public ownership of great public enterprises have been exceedingly satisfactory and instructive. I am inclined to consider municipal ownership as the best means to secure to the people the cheapest and best service.

XIX. The ex-President considers such systems as the cheapest and best.

XX. These qualities, cheapness and excellence, should be secured for the people.

XXI. Municipal ownership is not an experiment.

XXII. Study the results in Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Belfast.

XXIII. Manchester, England, owns its gas works; furnishes 81,000 private consumers at 64 cents per 1000 cubic feet, lights 15,000 public lamps, and earns, clear of all expenses, $500,000 a year.

XXIV. New York City pays $1,225,000 for lighting her streets.

XXV. Chicago owns an electric-lighting plant and Chief Barrett of the department says that, notwithstanding the employees are receiving higher wages and working less hours than those in private companies, he could reduce the price one-half if only allowed to supply private consumers.

XXVI. "If only allowed to supply private consumers." Think what that little "if" means!

XXVII. Higher wages and fewer hours.

XXVIII. If Chicago owned her entire lighting systems gas could be reduced from $1 to 60 cents, and a net revenue of $1,000,000 would accrue to the city.

XXIX. If Greater New York owned her systems what would the revenue be on the Manchester basis, 64 cents? These figures are astounding.

XXX. But look at Belfast, Ireland; net profit of $326,000 at 66 cents. Price will be reduced to 60 cents and then a reduction of from 5 to 20 per cent., according to amount consumed.

XXXI. Birmingham, England, paid $10,-

000,000, for her gas plant, which was twice its value. Gas is 53 cents, and at this price pays interest on investment, creates a sinking fund, lights its streets and public buildings free, and pays a net revenue of $350,000 into the city treasury.

XXXII. Wheeling, West Va., a city of less than 40,000, purchased its gas plant for $176,000, in 1868; reduced gas from $2.50 to 75 cents, paid its purchase money from its profits, increased its plant to $500,000, lights its streets, markets, public buildings, hospitals, and many other places, and yields a revenue of $27,000.

XXXIII. Over 200 cities in the United States own their electric-lighting plants, and in nearly all cases the results are very satisfactory: cheaper rates and better service.

XXXIV. See the comparison as to annual cost per arc light under private and municipal ownership in various cities.

	Private.	Municipal.
Bangor, Me., . . .	$150	$48
Bay City, Mich., . .	110	58
Huntington, Ind., . .	146	50
Bloomington, Ill., . . .	111	51
Chicago, Ill., . . .	250	96

	Private.	Municipal.
Elgin, Ill., ...	$266	$43
Aurora, Ill., . . .	326	70
Fairfield, Ia., . . .	378	70
Marshalltown, Ia., . .	125	27

XXXV. This is the history of the difference between municipal and private management.

XXXVI. But Glasgow, Scotland, owns its public franchises, and the revenue pays all expenses and there is no taxation.

XXXVII. No wonder General Harrison spoke so forcibly.

XXXVIII. What is true of light is true of street railways.

XXXIX. The taxation of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and almost every city in the Union is fearful.

XL. The ownership and proper management of their public franchises would support the cities at nearly one-half the cost to the consumer.

XLI. We owe protection to the consumer of light and patron of transportation.

XLII. It is not good government to allow millions to accumulate at the expense of labor.

XLIII. The necessities of dwellers in cities should be considered.

XLIV. Water, light, and transportation are just as much necessaries as are sanitation, protection from disease, street-paving, fire and police control.

XLV. Millions of dollars are spent in bribing city councils and legislatures for the passage of franchises.

XLVI. Mayor Pingree stated he was offered $50,000 to stop fighting the gas ordinance and $50,000 to sign it.

XLVII. We have no moral right to make gifts of such valuable franchises.

XVIII. It is plundering the people.

XLIX. The gift of these privileges is a menace to honest municipal government.

L. Establish municipal ownership, and consider the following benefits:

It will furnish a better service.
It will reduce the price one-half.
It will save to the consumer the millions of corporation profits.
It will reduce taxation.
It will prevent bribery.
It will pay better wages.
It will cause better government.

As it is, we have:

Corporation in office, $1 to $2 gas instead of 60 cents.

Three values in electric lighting.

Five-cent fares instead of two-cent.

Impure water. Poor service.

Watered stock.

Strikes.

Government by injunction.

Accumulated millions, and all paid by the consumer.

LI. Do you like the picture?

LII. Will you willingly continue this state of things?

LIII. Do you want to make millionaires at the expense of the many?

LIV. Do you want economy?

LV. One more lesson, and we will close the affirmative.

The city of Springfield, Ill., was paying a private lighting company $138 a year for each arc lamp. Its citizens were aware that this was an exorbitant charge, but as the city's debt was already up to the legal limit, they were unable to establish a public plant. But fortunately sixty public-spirited citizens advanced the necessary funds. New works were built and leased to two electricians for five years; they to furnish light at the rate of $60 a lamp per year. But the city appro-

priated each year $113 a lamp, the difference, $53, forming a sinking fund which entirely wiped out the debt at the end of the five years. Therefore, through public spirit, coupled with good business management, the city will save $25 a year on each lamp, and, what is of more importance, at the expiration of the five years, the city, without any outlay, will become owner, free of debt, of its own electric-lighting plant.

Negative.

I. Government ownership seems to be the cry among certain classes without any definite idea of "how," what it will cost, etc.

II. We are ruled by impulse.

III. The impulse just now is anti-organization.

IV. We imagine that corporations are growing rich out of these public franchises.

V. Some are, but possibly they deserve it.

VI. What is the fate of nearly all public efforts?

VII. Four-fifths go into the hands of receivers.

VIII. Scarcely a lighting plant or a street railway paid expenses when originally devised.

IX. They were all experiments and costly to capital.

X. It is only by time and experience that any franchise became profitable.

XI. Take any city, and the first franchise granted was worth nothing.

XII. It was only by the investment of capital and its trials that the enterprise became valuable.

XIII. Suppose a city organized a street railway and it became a failure financially, what would be the result?

XIV. The party in power would be voted out.

XV. Politics is against every experiment that is a failure.

XVI. Parties must not invest the people's money and not make a success of it.

XVII. Franchises become valuable only when capital has invested its millions.

XVIII. The city of Chicago could never have perfected its wonderful system of railways.

XIX. It was done only by the thought and determination of capital.

XX. Cities run in debt to supply their real necessities, such as water supplies, sewerage, improvements, parks, boulevards, public build-

ings, schoolhouses, paving, asylums, prisons, hospitals, and are taxed severely to meet these demands.

XXI. Many cities issue bonds to the limit of their privileges and cannot undertake street railways and lighting.

XXII. All these high-sounding speeches of anti-monopolists depend upon what they think can be done, and not what is really feasible.

XXIII. A man is deeply in debt. How can he build a new barn, buy improved stock, erect a new windmill with water tanks, piping, feed cutters, saw machine, silos ; purchase corn huskers, threshing machine, potato digger, and a complete line of implements ?

XXIV. He simply cannot do it. He must wait.

XXV. The same is true of cities. An enterprise might pay after it was established, but the people would not stand the original expense.

XXVI. The debt limit is one of the greatest hindrances to progress.

XXVII. With due respect to General Harrison, I will say, he speaks only of an established institution.

XXVIII. We see the rich gold mines, but fail to see the thousands of unprofitable "holes in the ground."

XXIX. Go slow. Count the cost. Do not go so far in debt that it will be impossible to get out.

XXX. It is not necessary to have government ownership to have government control.

XXXI. We have the right to legislative control.

XXXII. If the corporation that controls a franchise is abusing its privileges, you have your legal remedy.

XXXIII. If a five-cent fare is too much, let your lawyers make a three-cent fare.

XXXIV. We always have this resource.

XXXV. Capital must have an inducement to interest it in such investments.

XXXVI. Great profit is the only inducement for the investment of millions.

XXXVII. It requires millions to perfect any franchise system in any great city.

XXXVIII. What Glasgow does is what New York city cannot do.

XXXIX. As well expect all of us to be expert painters, musicians, orators, writers, poets, as to expect all cities to be Glasgows.

XL. Springfield is happy in having sixty such citizens as we have heard of. Point out such another combination at home!

XLI. The sixty citizens of other cities would run the plant themselves.

XLII. Any plan, when thoroughly established, can furnish service at a low rate.

XLIII. If it is a duty to give a cheap ride, why not a duty to give cheap meat and bread?

XLIV. Elect honest men to office and there will be no bribery.

XLV. Bribery exists more in contracts than in franchises.

XLVI. Example: city of ten thousand inhabitants, no street railway, people are afraid to build one, property owners petition, franchise is asked for,—it is of no value originally,—capital is invested, service instituted.

XLVII. What is the result? The city grows, the system expands, the valueless franchise reaps a harvest, certain classes cry, "Favoritism! millions in value given away! public ownership!"

XLVIII. After capital creates value, then comes the cry—not before.

XLIX. There is no certainty that government ownership would mean better service.

L. Government cannot build as cheaply as private enterprise.

LI. No government contract was ever as carefully inspected as to economy as are private ones.

LII. We will settle strikes by arbitration, or by other means agreed upon.

LIII. We always expect the consumer to pay the costs and profits in every business.

LIV. Business could not exist without this rule.

LV. To have a better system let us adopt the following measures:

Elect honest legislators.
Enact laws just for all.
Execute these laws.
Government control.
Grant a fair revenue.
Extend ample protection to labor and capital.
Encourage investments.
Practice economy.
Avoid going into debt.
Do not jump at conclusions. Count the cost.

With these cautions carefully observed we may still feel safe in granting franchises and in controlling the corporations.

SECTION XXX.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That education as it is now thrust upon the youth of America is dangerous to health and good government.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

NOTE.—As this is an original question devised by the author, only one side will be outlined, sufficient on which to base a discussion.

I. It is a peculiar question.

II. It is not popular to assail any form of education.

III. But we can go too far. There is a limit to the pupil's capability and endurance.

IV. We have passed that limit.

V. Tax the physical structure beyond its strength and you cause premature decay.

VI. Work a child too hard and you impair vitality.

VII. The average school course overtaxes the strength of the average child.

VIII. The constitution of the pupil is

being destroyed, the eyesight injured, and the digestive powers diminished.

IX. We study without regard to the future.

X. The prevalent idea is to rush through school to college, regardless of the opportunities for putting such education to use.

XI. It is constant school from four years to twenty, with most of us.

XII. What would I advocate? Less theoretical teaching and more practical instruction.

XIII. Once a young man could say, "What profession shall I take?" Now it is, "What can I find to do?"

XIV. The professions are full, big opportunities are gone; competition is everywhere.

XV. We must study utility.

XVI. If we enter college we should have a specific end in view.

XVII. Study more in the line of what you expect to do.

XVIII. If we had fewer colleges, academies, and normals, and a healthier spirit in our district schools, the country would be better for it.

XIX. These higher schools have become a fad, to the detriment of the district schools.

XX. The moment a child gets into his teens the desire is to send him off to a college or some educational institution with a high-sounding title.

XXI. Count the cost of the next six years of his schooling.

XXII. What can he do when he graduates? Practically nothing.

XXIII. He thinks himself above common work.

XXIV. He scorns the farm, the smithy, the trades.

XXV. He is too smart, or rather too proud, to stoop to the common avocations of life.

XXVI. He may teach school, but there are twenty applicants for each school.

XXVII. If he is possessed of sufficient money he may now study for the law, for medicine, theology, or some other profession.

XXVIII. But if he is thrown upon his own resources, he may scorn manual labor so much as to seek to earn a living by questionable methods.

XXIX. The moment we turn the attention of one of these dissatisfied ones from what he can do to what he cannot do, we create a disturbing element in government.

XXX. To obviate this, build up the district school, educate for a purpose, and create in the pupil a desire to do what he can do.

XXXI. Enlarge the country schoolhouse curriculum by the addition of manual training.

XXXII. The teacher must understand psychology thoroughly to comprehend human nature.

XXXIII. Let the boys be taught how to use tools.

XXXIV. Not one farmer in ten can put a broken reach into his wagon. Teach the boys how.

XXXV. Teach the girls how to sew, mend, and cook.

XXXVI. Teach the principles of health unceasingly.

XXXVII. Never mind if the pupils never see a Latin or Greek grammar.

XXXVIII. Algebra and geometry are valuable branches of science, but mighty poor procurers of food.

XXXIX. As our country develops and population increases, the question of how our necessities are to be supplied grows more difficult.

XL. We shall soon require all teachers to be graduates of some normal school.

XLI. Better require them to be graduates of a practical business.

XLII. Teach language, and then business.

XLIII. Throw away three-fourths of the grammar course.

XLIV. Commence to teach the child how to talk correctly by mechanical practice.

XLV. Teach the proper use of the pronouns first. Teach him to say: It is I. It is they. It is she. It is he. Write such phrases on the blackboard. Correct him in his conversation. Practice, Practice, Practice!

XLVI. If the boy is to be a farmer, teach him the science of farming.

XLVII. If he has a natural talent for drafting, painting, music, oratory, or any profession, give him the course necessary to make him successful in that profession.

XLVIII. Do not load him down with knowledge he will soon forget.

XLIX. Opportunities are too few to take any chances.

L. An educated rogue is the most dangerous one.

LI. We have too many young men out of employment who have a good education in general, but none in particular.

LII. This condition of affairs induces a disposition to go wrong, to defy law, to demand what men do not earn, to scheme, speculate, defraud, misrepresent.

LIII. Unemployed education is often a menace to good society, good morals, good government.

LIV. The author is acquainted with a good many graduates of a prominent State University who are farmers or farm hands.

LV. These people had no object in view, no purpose but study. They graduated with credit, but their power and opportunities of utilizing their knowledge were limited.

LVI. They have now forgotten their Latin and Greek, their sciences, classics, demonstrations, histories. They retain their diplomas as a proof of what they have done, but the parchment is of no financial value.

LVIII. Again I say, less general education without purpose. Build up the country schools, teach character, self-reliance, honesty, economy, manliness.

LVII. Teach that the great desiderata in

life are good citizenship, practical purposes, industry, health, happiness.

LIX. Avoid too much study, too much schooling without a purpose. Remember that an education is valuable just in proportion as we can use it.

LX. Stop and consider that the American youth is being crammed to death. That the present system gives him no object in life. Character should be the first great principle of development, application the second, and economy *is* the measure of prosperity.

SECTION XXXI.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That national banks should be abolished.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. Our present system of national banks was established in 1863.

II. It was the greatest safe speculating scheme ever devised.

III. The law made it possible in 1863 for a capitalist to secure $50,000 (or more) in paper currency, convert it into government bonds at par, deposit the bonds with the Government and draw back $45,000 in currency.

IV. By this one stroke the new business actually had the benefit of $45,000 for practically nothing.

V. It is a system that collects interest upon its debts.

VI. Bank currency is not a legal tender.

VII. It is made redeemable in government currency (greenbacks).

VIII. It is universally accepted at par, as it is secured by government bonds.

IX. As the Government is the security, let the Government issue the currency and receive the benefits.

X. The system gives banking corporations benefits that exist in no other form of business.

XI. It establishes a privileged class.

XII. Unless abolished the national banks will obtain control of legislation and the $346,000,000 of government currency (greenbacks) will be retired.

XIII. To retire this currency means an issue of government bonds, and the issuance of the entire paper currency of the country by banks.

XIV. Banks have no moral right to demand the right to issue currency.

XV. The right to issue currency, whether gold, silver, or paper, belongs to the people, the Government, and should not be delegated to any corporation.

XVI. Banks represent centralized money.

XVII. The greater the centralization the more powerful its influence.

XVIII. Money is the great medium of exchange in all business.

XIX. Being the greatest of public necessities, its issue and volume should be in the hands of the Government.

XX. Banks or any corporations seek to benefit themselves only. The Government seeks to benefit the people.

XXI. The concern of banks is for their rate of interest.

XXII. The larger the rate of interest the more profit.

XXIII. The volume of money controls the rate of interest.

XXIV. The price of money is interest.

XXV. Business now largely depends upon banks for assistance.

XXVI. People's deposits are largely with the banks.

XXVII. Banks are the great centers for receiving and distributing currency.

XXVIII. Business borrows, and when times are hard, depositors become uneasy, withdrawals ensue, business is called upon to return its loan; sacrifice, foreclosure, suspension, and failure are the result.

XXIX. The deposits of the people should

be with the Government, and the Government should establish a system of postal savings, loans, and issues of currency.

XXX. The volume of money should be such that it will compel a low rate of interest, for high interest dissipates profits and capital.

XXXI. Banks oppose a government issue, as it interferes with their special privileges.

XXXII. Had the Government never delegated a paper issue to banks, but issued the same volume itself, it would have saved over $400,000,000 interest paid on the bonds given as security for this bank issue.

XXXIII. Continue this system, and then convert the $346,000,000 of greenbacks into interest-bearing bonds, and we shall add to the profits of banking at the expense of the Government.

XXXIV. All the currency of the people should be full legal tender, without exception.

XXXV. The basis of bank issue (bonds) must sooner or later be canceled by payment of the debt.

XXXVI. When bonds are paid the system must cease, or other forms of security must be devised.

XXXVII. The banks are now seeking other securities and devising other means.

XXXVIII. The first move is to retire the greenback in long-time bonds for a further basis.

XXXIX. The people in general do not study this question.

XL. They leave it for the banks to dictate.

XLI. The banks dictate for their own interests.

XLII. As the system is for their benefit only, it ought to be abolished.

Negative.

I. Few realize how and why national banks were first established.

II. A great war was upon us.

III. The expense was enormous.

IV. Paper currency was a war necessity.

V. The great volume had to be converted into bonds to stop its depreciation.

VI. By establishing national banks currency was converted into bonds.

VII. Our previous system was not reliable.

VIII. The banks were so unreliable that they were known as wild-cat banks.

IX. National banks are known to be absolutely safe.

X. It is the only system ever devised that is perfectly secure.

XI. No one can lose a dollar.

XII. Currency is good in any part of the country.

XIII. All financiers pronounce government banking false economy.

XIV. At present we must keep a vast amount of gold on hand for redemption.

XV. When it falls below the $100,000,000 mark, panics ensue.

XVI. When it rises above that point, confidence is restored.

XVII. It is not good policy to continue a system that endangers confidence.

XVIII. The $346,000,000 of greenbacks are a constant menace that may at any moment wipe out the reserve.

XIX. A recent administration demonstrated this fact by its issue of $262,000,000 in bonds to sustain the reserve.

XX. Remove the cause and you cure the disease.

XXI. The greenbacks and reserve are financial diseases.

XXII. Banking under national supervision is the only safe method, and the only system that does not threaten the credit of government.

XXIII. We must sustain credit.

XXIV. Banking is necessary to business; necessary for exchange, and necessary to the public good.

XXV. No one is injured.

XXVI. The Postal Savings system does not enter into this discussion, except as it relates to an issue of currency.

XXVII. Government must not issue an irredeemable currency.

XXVIII. Volume of currency cannot be regulated by government.

XXIX. A monetary system must be one of expansion.

XXX. Government cannot cause expansion and contraction of the currency by edict.

XXXI. This is a principle of banking.

XXXII. Banking is the great agent of equalization. Money not needed is returned. When wanted, is withdrawn.

XXXIII. It is open to all and is not a special privilege.

XXXIV. There should be a national bank

in every place of three hundred to five hundred inhabitants.

XXXV. This would increase the volume of money in these places.

XXXVI. Increased volume of money increases business.

XXXVII. Business employs labor.

XXXVIII. Labor must be fed.

XXXIX. All these factors tend to increase prosperity.

XL. And prosperity is what we want.

SECTION XXXII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That bimetallism and not protection is the secret of future prosperity.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. The term bimetallism means the adoption of both gold and silver as primary money, or, in other words, the free coinage of both metals without limitation.

II. The term protection applies to a tariff on imported manufactured articles by which the same article produced at home is given an advantage in price.

III. Protection raises the price of all imported articles.

IV. Protection does away with competition on the basis of original cost.

V. Protection advances the cost of imported products to the consumer.

VI. Protection means additional profit to the manufacturer.

VII. It means a tax on these commodities.

VIII. It produces trusts and monopolies.

IX. It destroys foreign competition.

X. It causes retaliation.

XI. Bimetallism means more money.

XII. It means development of the great West, employment of labor, increase in the value of all farm products, and stimulation of all business.

XIII. More money means activity in business and a lower rate of interest.

XIV. It means that gold is no longer the dictator; that monometallism is broken; that the restoration of silver to its proper position must increase its value and its ability to benefit mankind.

XV. Bimetallism means that the bullion value must equal the legal-tender value.

XVI. Money lenders and their allies oppose silver on the grounds that it is a depreciated commodity; that it holds its place as money only by the sufferance of the people and the determination of the Government to sustain the parity of the two metals.

XVII. They claim that if the Government

should fail to sustain this parity, silver would depreciate as did the greenback during the War.

XVIII. The truth of the matter is they denounce it because they do not want it. Because it increases the volume of money issued by government. Because it works independent of banks and their allies. Because it is not easily controlled. Because it furnishes money without any profit to them. Because it relieves financial distress. Because it is the debtor's friend. Because it is the poor man's money.

XIX. Bimetallism means that financial necessities are not dependent upon one metal and one system of banking. It means competition in money. It means advance in prices of all commodities: advance of prices in real estate; increased activity; employment of labor; increased price of labor through a more extensive demand for it.

XX. It does not mean depreciation of the value of money, for no full legal tender is worth less than any other legal tender. It does not mean a withdrawal of gold from circulation, for there will be no object to be gained by hoarding it. It does not mean that

gold will leave the country unless it is more profitable to trade it off than to keep it. It does not mean a silver basis and a gold basis, for two legal tenders with the same powers must be equal. It does not mean that the silver of the world will come to us for coinage, for no nation outside of this continent has any to send.

XXI. But it does mean a stable price in silver as well as gold. It means that the bullion value cannot fluctuate any more than the bullion value of gold. It means that the owner of silver bullion will not sell it in the markets for less than it is worth to him to coin. It means that the bullion of the world must retain that value, barring the cost of transportation.

XXII. Free coinage of silver must restore the value of silver just as the demonetization of gold must decrease its value.

XXIII. Demonetize gold and you make it a fluctuating commodity, just as silver is to-day.

XXIV. The intrinsic value of gold depends upon its free coinage. Destroy that and it becomes a depreciated metal.

XXV. The value of either metal depends

upon its uses. Destroy half its uses and you injure its value.

XXVI. Half of the uses of silver have been stricken out by the abolition of free coinage. Restore its uses as free money and you restore its value.

XXVII. Banks now furnish ninety-eight per cent. of the medium of exchange. Free coinage of silver will affect this immense business injuriously and of course will disturb the temper of those who are engaged in it.

XXVIII. They tell us no nation is strong enough to battle against the storm of opposition; that it would be suicide for our government to attempt it; that we would sink into contempt; that our securities would be thrown upon our markets in unlimited quantities; that they would be cut in value; that panics in stocks would ensue; that foreclosures would abound, and that repudiation would be the order of the day.

XXIX. How foolish such assertions! In fact, the opposite would be the case. Creditors could not afford to create panics, as it would impair their own property. They could not afford to attack any legal tender, for they would "cut their own throats." They

could not demand one particular kind of money, but must take any legal tender. They could not destroy the value of money, for they are the ones most interested.

XXX. No matter how much they may oppose bimetallism, when once adopted they cannot afford to continue to make war upon it. They must help to maintain it for their own protection. They cannot make any distinction if they would. Debts are due in either legal tender and their values must become equal.

XXXI. Holders of stocks are not fools, and they cannot afford to crowd the market, as it is their own interests they would assail.

XXXII. If gold is given no undue advantage, no one will pay a premium for its use when other mediums will serve the same purpose.

XXXIII. If foreign manufactured goods are sold in this country, the sellers must accept our medium of payment or lose our market.

XXXIV. If it is protection our friends call for, bimetallism will afford the protection desired. If it be true that foreign goods will not come unless sellers get gold, and gold

will have double the value of silver, then they will not come and we shall be able to stimulate our own manufactures and produce our own goods. Such a condition would boom every trade and every product, but it is not true; the two metals will be equal because they are both legal tender.

XXXV. It is an axiom in geometry that two things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other.

XXXVI. If our country was small and not prominent in the commerce of the world, there might be something at stake. But we are the richest nation on earth; we manufacture, in value, one-third of the products of the combined countries of the earth. We have the most diversified soil, climate, and productions. We have the most extensive system of gulfs, bays, rivers, lakes, and railroads. We have more capital invested in our enterprises; more coal, iron, copper, lumber, silver, gold, water power and the various agencies of nature; we have more power, both physical and mental.

XXXVII. Such a country cannot be compared with Mexico, Japan, China, or any others of inferior qualifications.

Negative.

I. Protection serves two purposes: it stimulates production in our own country and at the same time supplies a needed revenue.

II. Those two facts are a sufficient defense of the present form of protection and tariff.

III. Government must be supported.

IV. Direct taxation is always distasteful.

V. Tariff is a form of revenue which is optional with the consumer. He can buy or not, as he chooses.

VI. If protection stimulates manufactures it must increase the demand for labor.

VII. Labor thus employed is able to obtain the necessaries and luxuries of life; so protection makes a market for farm products. The farmer becomes prosperous and all branches of trade follow.

VIII. Destroy protection and it matters not how much gold, silver, or paper we may have. We cannot get any of them unless we can earn it.

IX. Men must work to earn money.

X. If foreign products supplant our own

we create just so much less, and what was paid to our labor is now paid outside.

XI. A dollar saved is a dollar earned.

XII. It is better to employ labor six days in the week at $1.50 than three days at $1.00.

XIII. When men are idle wages are low.

XIV. In idleness vice flourishes.

XV. Unemployed labor means poverty, confusion, and distress.

XVI. Idle men have to live upon charity.

XVII. Idle men become dangerous; mobs spring into existence; law and order are disregarded, and anarchy prevails.

XVIII. Grant that bimetallism means a perfect parity of gold and silver, yet it does not relight dead furnaces. It does not develop the riches of nature. It does not open ruined factories. It does not furnish employment. It does not feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and relieve the distressed.

XIX. Labor is the foundation of national prosperity, and protection is the means of employment.

XX. Protection erects immense factories, lengthens our lines of railroads, builds steamships, promotes inventions, stimulates commerce, enlarges cities, advances learning,

creates ambitions, produces happiness, pays mortgages, increases values, lessens the number of tramps, and all through the employment of labor.

XXI. While bimetallism must fight the possibilities of disaster, protection has been tried, and not found wanting.

XXII. The only question that can be raised is, Which is better: compete with the world, or make the world pay a premium to compete with us?

SUBJECTS FOR DEBATE.

SECTION XXXIII.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY SELECTED TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION.

THE author believes that such a list of questions as follows will prove of considerable value to schools and literary societies. It is his hope that this little work may be widely used, and that the few subjects which are of only ephemeral interest may at least serve as models.

1. Resolved: That reciprocity is a better method of regulating international commercial intercourse than a protective tariff.

2. Resolved: That the Initiative and Referendum are the best form of legislation.

3. Resolved: That Switzerland has a better form of government than the United States.

4. Resolved: That free coinage of silver is of greater benefit to Mexico than a gold standard would be.

5. Resolved: That the closing of the mints of India to silver is a detriment to that country.

6. Resolved: That there should be no distribution of real estate by will, but an equal division by law.

7. Resolved: That there should be an educational test as a qualification for voting.

8. Resolved: That no foreign language should be taught in our public schools.

9. Resolved: That the study of Latin and Greek is a needless waste of time.

10. Resolved: That sculpture has a more beneficial effect on the intellect than painting.

11. Resolved: That no alien should be allowed to own real estate in this country.

12. Resolved: That trade unionism operates to the advancement of wages.

13. Resolved: That the sailor is more to be honored than the soldier.

14. Resolved: That the light of nature, alone, proves the immortality of the soul.

15. Resolved: That the single tax, as advocated by Henry George, is practicable.

16. Resolved: That it would be better for the business interests of the country to elect a Congress but once in eight years.

17. Resolved: That capital punishment should not be inflicted where the accused is convicted on circumstantial evidence.

18. Resolved: That capital punishment should be abolished.

19. Resolved: That the cotton industry is more important than the woolen.

20. Resolved: That the game of football is not physically beneficial.

21. Resolved: That the "little red schoolhouse" should receive more favors from the Government than our advanced schools.

22. Resolved: That circumstantial evidence should be sufficient to convict a saloon keeper for violation of the excise laws.

23. Resolved: That express packages to the weight of ten pounds should be carried by the mails at cost.

24. Resolved: That the Chinese should be admitted to American citizenship.

25. Resolved: That a property qualification should be a requirement for the admission of immigrants.

26. Resolved: That the United States Government should prevent extended strikes by compelling immediate arbitration.

27. Resolved: That the government of the

United States should hasten the completion of a great ship canal from Chicago to the Mississippi River.

28. Resolved: That any ship, no matter where built, when dedicated to the service of American commerce, should sail under the protection of the American flag.

29. Resolved: That it is for the best interests of the American people for the Government to discontinue the coinage of gold and silver, but to use the credit of the Government in the issue of a paper currency without coin redemption.

30. Resolved: That each State should publish its common-school text-books.

31. Resolved: That the children of every locality should be educated, no matter what the cost.

32. Resolved: That our criminal and idle population should be employed in the building of good roads.

33. Resolved: That it is a duty devolving upon ministers of the Gospel to study reforms of government, and to devote a portion of their Sunday evening service to their discussion.

34. Resolved: That divorce is compatible with Christianity.

35. Resolved: That iron is more serviceable to mankind than gold.

36. Resolved: That Civil Service examinations should be enforced in the appointment of all officers.

37. Resolved: That the Indians should not hold territory not in use by them.

38. Resolved: That it is just as ladylike to wear bloomers as any other dress.

39. Resolved: That the governor of a State should not have the power of pardon.

40. Resolved: That a man has the right to kill another in self-defense.

41. Resolved: That a trial by jury is not the best mode of administering justice.

42. Resolved: That man is more revengeful than woman.

43. Resolved: That public opinion is a good standard of right.

44. Resolved: That a pledge by which one's life is saved, even though given under duress, should be kept.

45. Resolved: That, if the conscience says a thing is right, it is right.

46. Resolved: That morality is separable from religion.

47. Resolved: That the farmer is more useful to society than the mechanic.

48. Resolved: That banks are more injurious than beneficial to a community.

49. Resolved: That the private property of the stockholders of a bank should be holden to protect depositors.

50. Resolved: That invention should be rewarded by Government and not by capital.

51. Resolved: That cremation should take the place of earth burial.

52. Resolved: That the civil department of government is more important than the military.

53. Resolved: That it would be for the best interests of both the governments concerned to annex Canada to the United States.

54. Resolved: That co-operation furnishes the most satisfactory solution of the labor problem.

55. Resolved: That church unity would develop a higher degree of Christianity.

56. Resolved: That it is not wise to exclude Chinese laborers from the United States.

57. Resolved: That prohibition is practicable.

58. Resolved: That church property should be taxed.

59. Resolved: That the rich should be encouraged in building extravagant homes and purchasing costly furnishings.

60. Resolved: That the annexation of Mexico is not desirable.

61. Resolved: That Christian communism is suited to the needs of the day.

62. Resolved: That there should be a limit to the ownership of land.

63. Resolved: That it is policy to grant shipping subsidies.

64. Resolved: That modern art is less moral than that of the Middle Ages.

65. Resolved: That there should be a protective duty on wool.

66. Resolved: That saloons should be under the control of the Government.

67. Resolved: That the United States can maintain the free coinage of silver without foreign assistance.

68. Resolved: That treating in alcoholic drinks should be prohibited.

69. Resolved: That it is not good policy to enact a bankrupt law.

70. Resolved: That there should be no collection of debts by law.

71. Resolved: That a lie is sometimes justifiable.

72. Resolved: That the truth should always be spoken.

73. Resolved: That, secret societies are beneficial to mankind.

74. Resolved: That the manufacture of cigarettes should be prohibited.

75. Resolved: That treating is the great source of intemperance.

76. Resolved: That the school is a more trustworthy moral agent than the jail.

77. Resolved: That the inebriate is not accountable to God for the crimes he commits while intoxicated.

78. Resolved: That the saloonkeeper is more guilty, in the commission of crime, than he who commits crime while under the influence of drink.

79. Resolved: That the licensed traffic in liquor produces more evils than its acknowledged illegal sale.

80. Resolved: That the democratic principles of the United States are in danger of being superseded by those of an aristocracy.

81. Resolved: That money has more influence upon mankind than education.

82. Resolved: That political parties are necessary to good government.

83. Resolved: That a limited monarchy is a better form of government than a republic.

84. Resolved: That newspapers do more to mold public opinion than all other agencies combined.

85. Resolved: That the Government of the United States should loan money on real estate at a low rate of interest.

86. Resolved: That a graduated income tax is justifiable.

87. Resolved: That the New Zealand system of taxation of real estate is preferable to our own.

88. Resolved: That a mortgage on the homestead should not be subject to foreclosure.

89. Resolved: That true patriotism is not compatible with willful blindness to our national defects.

90. Resolved: That a tariff on pine lumber is against the best interests of the people.

91. Resolved: That there should be no local saloon license, but if granted by local

option the Government should receive the fee and enforce its restrictions.

92. Resolved: That it would have been better for the Government to have purchased the Union Pacific Railroad than to have received its dues through foreclosure.

93. Resolved: That the advancement of civil liberty is more indebted to intellectual culture than to force of arms.

94. Resolved: That education tends to remove the fear of future punishment.

95. Resolved: That it is for the best interests of the people to close all avenues of trade on the Sabbath.

96. Resolved: That wheat has a greater influence over prosperity than corn.

97. Resolved: That it is good policy to prevent electioneering by candidates for office.

98. Resolved: That measures for the public good can be carried out more wisely by rulers than by the people.

99. Resolved: That no man should seek office by influencing the primaries.

100. Resolved: That government by injunction is justifiable.

101. Resolved: That what is termed the

political crank is a necessary adjunct to politics.

102. Resolved: That the world is improving in morals.

103. Resolved: That eight hours' labor should constitute a day's work.

104. Resolved: That a rate of interest beyond four per cent. should be prohibited.

105. Resolved: That greater prosperity would ensue if interest on money were abolished.

106. Resolved: That China is our most dangerous foe, commercially.

107. Resolved: That free trade and a gold standard are best suited to the people of Great Britain.

108. Resolved: That the financial interests of Great Britain are not similar to those of the United States.

109. Resolved: That tin should be placed on the free list.

110. Resolved: That lawyers are not beneficial to mankind.

111. Resolved: That lawyers should not be eligible to either house of Congress.

112. Resolved: That war is an indication of the advance of civilization.

113. Resolved: That further annexation of territory is not for the best interests of the American people.

114. Resolved: That the drama contributes more to mental enjoyment than the study of real life.

115. Resolved: That literature and science diminish the power of eloquence.

116. Resolved: That the progress of civilization diminishes the love of martial glory.

117. Resolved: That bimetallism is the most important political issue we can know.

118. Resolved: That it is as much the duty of the state to teach practical business as it is to teach the common-school studies.

119. Resolved: That Oliver Cromwell was a greater man than Napoleon Bonaparte.

120. Resolved: That Toussaint L'Ouverture was the equal of George Washington as a soldier and statesman.

121. Resolved: That Daniel Webster was superior in intelligence to Stephen A. Douglas.

122. Resolved: That superstition has a greater influence on the ignorant than logic.

123. Resolved: That gunpowder has done more for the benefit of mankind than poetry.

124. Resolved: That corporal punishment for some crimes is justifiable.

125. Resolved: That competition is a greater incentive to effort than compensation.

126. Resolved: That ambition contains more of vice than of virtue.

127. Resolved: That novel reading produces greater moral injury than benefit.

128. Resolved: That education has greater influence than nature in the formation of character.

129. Resolved: That rebellion against tyrannical government is justifiable.

130. Resolved: That the mind gains more knowledge from reading than from observation.

131. Resolved: That coal has been of more benefit to mankind than gold.

132. Resoved: That the introduction of labor-saving machinery has been a detriment to mankind.

133. Resolved: That a lawyer has no moral right to defend a man whom he knows to be guilty.

134. Resolved: That the practice of requiring a witness to take an oath is useless.

135. Resolved: That, in a trial by jury, one

juryman should not be able to affect the verdict of the remainder.

136. Resolved: That wealth is the cause of more crimes than poverty.

137. Resolved: That it is for the best interests of justice to try criminals by a jury of judges.

138. Resolved: That criminals should be incarcerated in reformatory institutions rather than prisons.

139. Resolved: That genius is nature's gift, and cannot be acquired.

140. Resolved: That there is more pleasure in anticipation than in realization.

141. Resolved: That capital and labor should share in the profits of industry.

142. Resolved: That the aspiration after artistic fame is more injurious than otherwise.

143. Resolved: That there is more happiness than misery in life.

144. Resolved: That the newspaper reports of prize-fights should be condemned.

145. Resolved: That the slander of an individual's character is a greater crime than larceny.

146. Resolved: That laws should be enacted to curb the license of the press.

147. Resolved: That there is no confusion between the teachings of geology and the Holy Bible.

148. Resolved: That the French Revolution was justifiable.

149. Resolved: That Richard the Third was a worse monarch than Charles the Second.

150. Resolved: That the cotton gin is a greater invention than the electric telegraph.

151. Resolved: That the sewing machine is a greater invention than the binder.

152. Resolved: That intoxicating drink has produced more crime than all other agencies.

153. Resolved: That pensions should be fitted to the present necessities of the veteran rather than to his military achievements.

154. Resolved: That teachers who have spent the greater part of their lives teaching school should be entitled to an annuity.

155. Resolved: That the so-called cheap literature should be prohibited.

156. Resolved: That superstition is more baneful to mankind than skepticism.

157. Resolved: That it is against good morals to engage in sports on Sunday.

158. Resolved: That the "unpardonable

sin" mentioned in the Bible does not imply the literal meaning of "blaspheming against the Holy Ghost."

159. Resolved: That the critic does more injury than good.

160. Resolved: That the New Testament is our only guide in spiritual life.

161. Resolved: That the study of mythology is of benefit to the pupil.

162. Resolved: That private education should be encouraged wherever practicable.

163. Resolved: That the adoption of a curfew ordinance is for the best interests of the children of a city or village.

164. Resolved: That labor is justified in forming unions.

165. Resolved: That strikes are justifiable.

166. Resolved: That the study of formal logic does not strengthen the reasoning powers.

167. Resolved: That elementary science, as taught, is not as beneficial as elementary classics.

168. Resolved: That the President of the United States should be elected by the vote of congressional districts instead of by States.

169. Resolved: That the Senate of the

United States should be elected by the people.

170. Resolved: That the necessaries of life should not be taxed by a tariff.

171. Resolved: That the executions of Major André and Nathan Hale were not justifiable.

172. Resolved: That universal socialism would advance the interests of humanity.

173. Resolved: That promiscuous charity is immoral.

174. Resolved: That the system of government in England is to be preferred to that of the French Republic.

175. Resolved: That any great invention, which may revolutionize the production of light, heat, or power, or may become a public necessity, should be controlled by the Government.

176. Resolved: That poverty, rather than riches, tends to develop character.

177. Resolved: That Home Rule in all the colonial possessions of any country should be adopted.

178. Resolved: That a Congress of religions once every five years would be beneficial.

179. Resolved: That no religious creed

should receive financial support from the state.

180. Resolved: That infidel publications should be prohibited by law.

181. Resolved: That men of thought have been more beneficial to the world than men of action.

182. Resolved: That the study of health and character is of more importance than any in the curriculum.

183. Resolved: That manual exercise in schools should receive as much attention as study.

184. Resolved: That the habit of medical advertising is not essentially wrong.

185. Resolved: That the masses are governed more by custom than reason.

186. Resolved: That half education is worse than none.

187. Resolved: That all public schools should teach character, patriotism, music, and economy.

188. Resolved: That public men, except judges of the United States Supreme Court when they retire from office, should not be pensioned.

189. Resolved: That a social organization

that creates hundreds of millionaires is radically wrong.

190. Resolved: That labor as well as capital should be protected from immigration by a due safeguard.

191. Resolved: That the practice of homeopathy in its pure simplicity is not medicine.

192. Resolved: That the practice of the Christian Science Cure is praiseworthy.

193. Resolved: That a general European war would be a benefit to mankind.

194. Resolved: That gambling on a board of trade ought to be prohibited.

195. Resolved: That the municipal government of Glasgow, Scotland, is the best in the world.

196. Resolved: That the support of the needy poor by the Government should be imperative.

197. Resolved: That the political theory that the spoils should belong to the victors is a good one.

198. Resolved: That all laws requiring the transaction of certain lines of business by attorney should be abolished.

199. Resolved: That stockyards should be owned by the Government.

200. Resolved: That "senatorial courtesy" should not be permitted to block the legislation of the country.

201. Resolved: That ministers of the Gospel should not engage in party politics.

202. Resolved: That the sea-coast defenses are more important than the navy in defending the country from invasion.

203. Resolved: That the civil service examinations, as conducted, do not secure a higher class of employees than party appointment.

204. Resolved: That the country would be benefited by extending the term of President to six years.

205. Resolved: That all tramps should be compelled to labor on the public works.

206. Resolved: That women should be admitted to the right of suffrage.

207. Resolved: That high license is the best method of controlling the liquor traffic.

208. Resolved: That the composer is greater than the author.

209. Resolved: That the increased destructive power of modern arms has been a preventive of war.

210. Resolved: That prison-made goods

should not be allowed to compete with "free" goods in open market, even at the expense of keeping convicts idle.

211. Resolved: That the attempts of the labor unions to control the labor market constitute as great a monopoly as any commercial combination.

212. Resolved: That the divorce laws of all the States should be made uniform.

213. Resolved: That the United States does not need a standing army.

214. Resolved: That the freedom of the English subject is as great as that of the American citizen.

215. Resolved: That the voter should not exercise his right of franchise if he believes both candidates to be equally corrupt.

216. Resolved: That Sunday newspapers are injurious to the morals of the community.

217. Resolved: That the law should condemn stock and produce gambling to the same extent as gambling with cards or on race tracks.

218. Resolved: That, as good roads are necessary to our development, they should be built by the National Government rather than by counties.

219. Resolved: That government would not be possible without morality.

220. Resolved: That an autocratic government cannot be successful at the present day.

221. Resolved: That the Europeanizing of Asiatics is not advisable.

222. Resolved: That the practice of theosophy is not consistent with good citizenship.

223. Resolved: That the duties of salt-water sailors are more hazardous than theirs who sail on the great lakes.

224. Resolved: That we do not benefit the morals of Buddhists by Christianizing them.

225. Resolved: That the departmental plan of teaching is not advisable.

226. Resolved: That a universal language would help to attain more rapidly the "perfect civilization."

227. Resolved: That bachelors should be specially taxed on their condition.

228. Resolved: That the common schools do not *teach* all the branches in which they profess to instruct.

229. Resolved: That the growing indifference to church-going is a mark of social retrogression.

230. Resolved: That the increase of lay celibacy is preventible.

231. Resolved: That woman's temerity is generally made up of curiosity.

232. Resolved: That woman is more inconsiderate than man.

233. Resolved: That custom should sanction the proposal of marriage by woman.

234. Resolved: That country life is more conducive to patriotism than city life.

235. Resolved: That the laziness charged against the negro disappears on change of environment.

236. Resolved: That the police department of cities should be under one responsible head.

237. Resolved: That the treatment of the Indian by our government is infamous.

238. Resolved: That the bicycle has been the cause of more harm than good.

239. Resolved: That skepticism has been of service to Christianity.

240. Resolved: That literature has been injuriously affected by the growth of cheap printing.

241. Resolved: That good government clubs do not promote good government.

242. Resolved: That the duty of a policeman in a large city is more hazardous than that of a fireman.

243. Resolved: That the application of electricity to railroads is more important than in lighting.

244. Resolved: That the national conscience is deteriorating.

245. Resolved: That the recent history of the stage proves that physical attractions are of more importance than intellect.

246. Resolved: That partisanship and patriotism are incompatible.

247. Resolved: That the kindergarten is destructive to the true principles of education.

248. Resolved: That the physical training of women is overdone.

249. Resolved: That the most successful business men are not strictly honest.

250. Resolved: That it is the duty of bandmasters to improve the taste of the people by substituting classical for popular music in their programmes.

ADDRESSES

FOR SALUTATORY, VALEDICTORY, AND OTHER OCCASIONS.

THE student called upon to represent his class in delivering the salutatory or valedictory address may sometimes be at a loss where to discover an appropriate foundation on which to build his thesis.

In order that no summons may take our orator unawares, the few brief essays appended are placed at his disposal, covering most of the occasions when his services are likely to be in demand, either at commencement exercises or in later life.

The form only—not the substance—of these addresses is intended for his use, and the author trusts that the student's information will enable him so to enlarge on the subject as to make a fitting address on any occasion.

SECTION XXXIV.

ORATION—DECORATION DAY.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is not necessary to explain the objects of our service to-day. Its purpose is engrafted on your memory as one of your most cherished privileges: the privilege of a free people scattering the tokens of undying love upon the graves of those who saved our Union. And although it is not possible to erase from our minds the memory of the terrible realities of the past, yet we can raise our hearts in thanksgiving, and thank God that the brave men whose memories we honor were once our living brothers, and, as we bow our heads over their graves, we feel, at the same time, the tenderest sentiment of a great sorrow and the gladness of a grateful heart.

We mourn, and yet we rejoice; we uncover our heads as a token of true solemnity, and yet we bless the day when these brave men

gave their lives that our country might live. Who can point to a more noble purpose than to meet as we meet to-day? As I look over this audience I see the same true spirit outlined in your countenances as was proved in them. I see the same sentiment of loyalty as was found in them. I see by the flush of your cheek that you would spring to the rescue of that flag as did they.

We are all brothers endowed with the same sentiment of loyalty to our government, the same determination to protect it, and the same courage to defend it. But as we decorate the graves of our heroes let us not forget the lessons taught by their sacrifice—that in the government of the nation we cannot make creed or race distinctions and still hold the love of the people. As a people we are grand in government, grand in prosperity, and grand in achievements. We fear none in all the world of nations. Alone we stand upon the foundation of our own greatness, and in a union of action we shall always lead. But remember the dangers of over-confidence. It breeds an egotism that is fatal to national existence. Strong as we are or may be, let us not acquire that excess of confidence

which, when danger threatens, would be our undoing.

These dead are silent witnesses to the truth of this statement, and if they could speak they would raise a warning voice against the selfish and, in fact, unpatriotic tendencies in the conduct of men to-day.

It is not enough that we proclaim the vastness of our strength. There is a work for all of us to do, and, as we meet together on these occasions, let us renew our devotion to our government, and so educate our people that our republic shall never decay. We have celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the New World. We invited the nations of the earth to celebrate with us the achievements which our fathers have wrought. We are proud of our ability thus to extend our greetings and proud of that growth which points to the great West as the center of population.

Think of the wonderful expansion which gathers in a single city a million souls on what was, a generation ago, unbroken prairie. Do you comprehend the grandeur of that heritage which those men have bequeathed to us? Do you realize the sacredness of that

loyalty which binds us together upon the plane of equal rights?

We know our greatness, and let us by a just and righteous conduct cherish it. As grand as have been our achievements, yet, like Rome, we may fall—yes, fall, betrayed by our ambition. As we enlarge our sphere of usefulness, let us harbor only honest thoughts and purposes.

Let us keep ever in mind the progress which we must accomplish, and showing the example to other nations of honorable manhood, strive to inculcate a reverence for that Being who declares that even the hairs of our head are numbered, and when we shall have passed to that Great Unknown we shall have left a world made better by our living in it.

The strength of real greatness depends upon the basic principles of honesty and temperance. It was these principles which won for us the glorious independence of this nation. It was these principles that governed the makers of our Constitution, and it is these same principles which must govern our future acts if we would maintain the proud position we hold among the nations of the earth. Destroy

the honesty of legislation, warp our natures in debauchery, and we shall soon fall from the position which now we hold—and that fall will be the greater for the height to which we have attained. But I have no fears for the integrity of our nation. We realize the vastness of our prize, and no Satan can wrest it from us.

We love our country and her institutions; we cherish the memory of those who gave their lives that this nation might live. We bend over their graves in the deepest of mourning, but when our eyes behold that emblem of national existence, we feel as though we could clasp its folds in our dearest embrace and kiss each star which bedecks its field of blue. Oh! flag of our fathers; flag of our Washington, our Lincoln, our Douglas, our Grant; we feel as though you held our destiny within the folds of your white and crimson bars. What enthusiasm, what patriotic feelings you bring to our hearts as we see you, floating in the free winds of heaven! No pen can picture your power and grandeur; no voice can explain the pent-up feelings of unbounded gratitude which we bestow upon you! We know and feel what you represent, but cannot express its meaning. We stand

before you, gazing with awe and admiration, while in our hearts we thank God that you still float over us.

NOTE.—One of the most beautiful sentiments ever written is expressed in the last few lines of the above. Commencing with "We love our country and her institutions," we have an opportunity of great dramatic effect. If thoroughly committed to memory the speaker can, with gestures, hold his audience spell-bound. The change from bending over the grave to that of beholding the flag will rouse in every heart a strong feeling of what the conditions are. The arm should be raised and finger pointed to the flag as the eyes rise from the grave to the emblem above, and as the address is made, "Oh! flag of our fathers," both arms should be extended with palms open, as if reaching to clasp it. The whole can be made impressive and interesting when properly studied and rendered.

SECTION XXXV

ESSAY—FEBRUARY 22.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is with great pleasure I accept the honor of presenting a tribute to the memory of our illustrious dead—George Washington. As on the Fourth of July we celebrate the anniversary of our nation's birth, so on this day we do honor to the day on which he saw the light. You all know the history of Washington, you know his fidelity to principle; his patriotism, his unswerving honesty, his determination, his Christian forbearance, and his magnificent statesmanship. Every schoolboy is taught to revere the memory of the Father of his Country, and can recite the adventures and successes of his eventful career.

I will take up a few moments of your time in relating something of his early life before he became the master hand in the great cause of the Revolution.

George Washington was born in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, February 22, 1732. His father died when he was but ten years of age, and left him to the care of his solicitor's mother, who succeeded in giving him a private education, which was equal to what is now called a common-school education. During his minority he acted as county surveyor, and this experience in his younger years proved to be of great value to him during his military career.

The war between England and France in 1747 excited in his young breast that spirit which subsequently burst into a flame, when the militia were being trained for actual service in the colonies on the part of the mother country. At the age of nineteen he was appointed one of the adjutants general of Virginia, with the rank of major. It will be remembered that France, at the time, unfolded her ambition of connecting Canada with Louisiana, and in this way inclosing the British colonies in North America. The Governor of the province became greatly alarmed by these threatened encroachments, and considered it necessary to warn the French to desist from the prosecution of this

scheme. The selection of an agent to execute this perilous mission of delivering the demand of the Governor to the French to desist from their encroachment was difficult, because the messenger would be required to pass through an unexplored wilderness filled with hostile Indians. The fatigues and dangers which induced others to decline the commission led Washington, with ardor, to seek the appointment. This was really the first opportunity that he had of showing his pluck and energy as a man, and his ambition and desire to become a soldier. He was selected by the Governor and charged with the duty of delivering the message to the French, and it was upon this occasion that the Indians became so well acquainted with Washington, and believed there was something supernatural about him, as it seemed to be impossible for them to kill him. The mission of Washington not having been successful, the Assembly of Virginia adopted measures to maintain the claims of the British crown. They authorized the executive of the colony to raise a regiment to consist of three hundred men. Mr. Fry was appointed to command it, and the commission of lieutenant colonel was given to Major

Washington. He obtained permission to march first, early in April, 1754, with two companies to the Great Meadows. He discovered that the French were building a fortress on the very ground which he had recommended to the Governor for a military post. Although hostilities had not begun, it was considered that the French had invaded English territory, and many circumstances rendered it probable that a force was marching with hostile views. Colonel Washington, under the guidance of the Indians, set out on a dark, rainy night and surrounded the encampment. At daybreak his men rushed upon the French, who, being completely surprised, surrendered. In the meantime Colonel Fry died, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Washington. This was Washington's first experience as army officer, and it is needless to say that he displayed great courage, skill, and judgment.

In the following spring General Braddock, being in command of an English force, was making preparations for an expedition to the Ohio, and extended an invitation to Colonel Washington to join his army as a volunteer aid-de-camp, which he gladly accepted.

Although Washington was taken ill with a fever on the journey, he persisted in accompanying General Braddock. The general, with his disencumbered troops, did not move with the expedition that accorded with the enterprising spirit of Washington. In a letter written by Washington at the moment he said: "I found, instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every molehill, and to erect bridges over every brook." Washington's indisposition became so severe that his physicians declared that his life would be sacrificed if he continued the march. He was, therefore, ordered to remain at Yohoghany. He consented to remain there on the promise that he should be brought up with the advance guard before it arrived at Fort Duquesne. The day before the fatal action took place he arrived in a covered wagon, rejoining the troops, and in his debilitated condition entered on his duty. Early in the action all General Braddock's aids except Colonel Washington were killed or disabled, and the duty of performing the whole service of carrying the orders of the commander to his officers was performed by Washington. Of

all those who on this fatal day did duty on horseback he alone escaped without a wound. After an action of three hours the troops broke, and the efforts of their officers to rally them were fruitless. Washington assisted in bringing General Braddock, who was mortally wounded, off the field. During the dangerous conflict of this hour, Washington exhibited the self-possession and determined courage which are essential to an officer. The British troops had not been accustomed to Indian warfare, and the strategy of the wily foe so filled them with consternation that they broke and fled, leaving everything in the hands of the enemy, a proceeding which excited the fiercest indignation in the mind of Washington, and called forth his unsparing criticism.

Thus we find that Washington was born a soldier, true to every principle of duty, and scorned the cowardice of men. His ambition was to do the will of those who sent him. His devotion to a noble cause was always steadfast and unflinching. He sought no honors, and accepted them with a modesty only equaled by his patriotism in the defense of his people.

The memorable 19th of April, 1775, is

known to every schoolboy. The battle of Lexington had been fought. The effect was like wild-fire. American blood had been shed; patriots came pouring in from all sides; gray-headed men sent their boys to battle; the hearts of the wives and mothers were filled with the inspirations of liberty, and all were ready to join in the declaration of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death."

On May 10 following, the Second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia and proceeded to raise and equip an army of twenty thousand men. They selected George Washington as commander in chief of the army, and voted five hundred dollars per month for his services. Mark the inherent modesty and patriotism of the man. He asked for no compensation, and he respectfully assured Congress that he did not wish to receive any profit from the office. "I will keep an account of my expenses; these, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire." Who could now doubt the strength of the character of Washington? He asked for no compensation, no profit for his services. "I will keep an account of my expenses, and their remuneration is all I ask." Well may

we love the Father of our Country. He placed loyalty to his country above the compensation for his time. The British sneer began to cease, the "mob of un-uniformed rebels" was striking terror to the English Crown. British officers who were held as prisoners in American camps wrote home: "It will be hard—yes, impossible—to conquer such men." Frederick the Great of Prussia said: "This young American general is opening a new chapter in the art of war; England has no man to match him." We have no time to follow the career of this brilliant man through his triumphs and his disasters, but we must not forget the darkest season of the war—the "winter at Valley Forge." The army was discouraged by continual defeat and retreat. It was poorly clad, ill-fed, barefooted, and often their blood-stained footprints were left on the frozen ground. It was a season of great adversity, and tried the patriotism of the new government. Many people of wealth and influence went over to the enemy. It was the darkest day in Washington's life. Congress, in a measure, abandoned him, and many people denounced him. In the meantime a shame-

less plot was being secretly arranged to remove Washington and to appoint Gates to the supreme command. No sooner was this treachery made known than a storm of indignation arose from the army and the people, and the scheme sank away in silence.

But Washington must do something to retrieve his defeats. He conceived the daring idea of capturing Trenton. Therefore, on the night of December 25, he crossed the Delaware, proceeded to Trenton, captured one thousand Hessians and a large quantity of arms and military stores, with the loss of only four men, two killed and two frozen to death. This was the great feat of the Revolution. The effect was electrical. It roused the drooping spirits of the army and people. Recruits flocked to the standard of Liberty, and the troops whose terms of enlistment had expired agreed to remain. Such brilliant achievements of Washington astonished the British commander, and Cornwallis, who was about to return to England, under the impression that the rebels had been subdued, was ordered to return and prepare for the winter's campaign. Not satisfied with the wonderful success at Trenton, Washington resolved on the ap-

proach of Cornwallis to retreat from Trenton and at night take a circuitous route and capture Princeton. Cornwallis was urged to attack Washington that night, but he declined, saying, "I will catch the fox in the morning."

That night Washington left his camp-fires burning to deceive the enemy, and at daybreak Cornwallis heard the sound of cannon in the direction of Princeton, and General Erskine exclaimed: "To arms, general! Washington has outgeneraled us; let us fly to the rescue of Princeton!" The deed was done. Princeton was won, and the second great achievement of Washington was heralded from colony to colony, and inspired anew the patriotism of all Americans. This triumph enlisted for our Congress the sympathy of France and many military leaders of Germany and Poland. It won the cause of independence, and rightly did Cornwallis testify when he said that the achievements of Washington and his little band, during the six weeks following Christmas, were the most brilliant ever recorded on the pages of history.

Grand as were his triumphs in war, grander still was his marvelous ability as a

statesman. The army was disbanded, and although many of the officers had expended their private fortunes, yet by the efforts of Washington the pledges of Congress were redeemed and quiet in the army assured. There was no central government, the treasury was empty, and the United States had no credit. The Indians were hostile; pirates from the Barbary States preyed upon our commerce; Spain refused the navigation of the Mississippi; England had not sent a minister to our Government, nor had she made a treaty of commerce with us. Yet, with all these difficulties, Washington overcame all obstacles and placed on an enduring basis the foundation of the American republic. The treasury was empty, but "He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue burst forth. He touched the dead corpse of public credit, and it sprang to its feet."

His was an eventful career, seven years as commander in chief, seven years in private life, and eight years as President of the United States. As commander in chief he had neither trained soldiers nor trained officers. Out of raw material he found his officers, and in all

his appointments there was but one traitor—Benedict Arnold. What greater proof can you ask of his judgment of character and men? Besides the treachery of Benedict Arnold let us place the sterling qualities of Israel Putnam, Ethan Allen, General Stark, General Marion, and General Reed. General Stark, when informed that one of his five sons had met with misfortune, excitedly asked, "Has he proved a coward or a traitor?" But, when informed that he had fallen while bravely fighting, said, "Ah! then I am satisfied."

As a contrast to the thirty thousand dollars received by Benedict Arnold, we find that General Reed was offered ten thousand guineas and high honors to seek a negotiation of peace—not to sell his manhood as a traitor, but to negotiate for peace. Do you know his reply? "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to buy me."

These were the men who labored with Washington in the great cause of the Revolution. He knew his men as by intuition and ever held their confidence. He was loved by the army, cherished as a statesman, and adored as a citizen. His later life was one

grand demonstration of approval by his fellow-men. His is a character worthy a study by every American boy, and though he may not have occasion to prove his patriotism as did Washington, yet he can so conduct himself that there will be no cause for censure, but he will have enthroned in the minds of those who knew him the same sentiment which the poet said of Washington:

> By broad Potomac's silent shore
> The nation's idol lowly lies,
> Making her green declivities
> To shine with glory evermore;
> Art to his fame no aid hath lent;
> His country is his monument!

SECTION XXXVI.

SALUTATORY—LIFE.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Teachers and School-mates:

We have assembled this evening in this formal and recognized mode of dismissal, for a final leavetaking. Without this our course would not be complete. It is a period in our lives we have looked forward to as of much importance to us. Whether it will be of greater import than a social function will rest with each individual. We can continue in the work of improvement, or we can fold our hands and in a few years lose all we have won to-night. This assertion may be too strong, for the diplomas we shall receive will always be evidence of our achievements, but the question I would put to each is, Shall we utilize these honors? Shall we put into actual practice the lessons we have learned, or shall we drift away and lose through inaction the real advantages that should

accrue through the education we have had bestowed upon us? It does not follow because we have been successful in reaching the final step of graduation that we shall find rewards bestowed upon us when we enter the pursuits of life. Thousands before us have been just as talented, just as enthusiastic, and just as worthy of honor and success as we. None of us should think for a moment that the light of intelligence is stronger in our being than in others. No doubt our knowledge is of varying degree, just as our faculties in one direction may be stronger than in another, but on the whole, if we can only average with the classes that have gone before us we should feel proud and satisfied. None of us may ever prove himself to be to be a Lincoln or a Grant, an Edison or a Nansen, but we can be men and women true to an honest purpose in life, and by perseverance and singleness of aim win for ourselves a place in business and society that will be a source of pride to our parents, our teachers, and our classmates.

What we have done is the result of constant stimulation by our teachers. When we faltered they came to our assistance, and with

a helping hand roused our drooping energies and beckoned us on by suggestion and explanation; but from now on their duties cease. They have fulfilled their obligations toward us, and we are henceforth to depend upon our own energies. Who will now come to us in times of doubt and indecision? Your fellow-man is not interested in your advancement, and no one seems to care. He may bestow on you his pity, but is filled with his own aims and has no care for yours. True, we may have friends who are loyal to us, but outside your own hearthstone they, too, are seeking their own success. All are loyal to us to-night and all will listen with kindly interest to the thoughts we shall express. But to-night is not to-morrow. Soon we shall hear the words of farewell from him who has won the honor of this class. He may portray the future from his successful standpoint. He can truthfully outline a future course by the standard of our past endeavors, for by the past, it is said, we govern the future; but the horoscope of our existence is a sealed book, with Time holding the key. It is our book, and the world little cares whether it is opened or not.

It may contain the deeds of daring men, or the fame of those who are to enrich the arts and sciences. When this book is unlocked, when its treasures are unfolded to the world, then, and not till then, shall we be more than passing ripples on the current of the future. If we have no faith in our abilities and no ambition to unseal them, then the key will rust in the lock and the promises of to-night will never be realized. No one can make the future for us. Circumstances may govern our actions and mark out our line of march, but as soldiers of fortune we must carry our own knapsacks, face the difficulties of life, and press onward and upward as did Longfellow's hero in his poem "Excelsior." Let me repeat the first stanza of that poem. It expresses volumes in the description of life. We can all repeat it, but have you studied the character there protrayed? His motto is but the purpose of your life. Will you carry it forward with the same determination and the same lofty ambition as he? Longfellow, indeed, knew the meaning of that lesson. He must have felt the impulses of his character as he leads him over the icy barriers of his imagination. He feels the neces-

sity of firm resolve and a loyalty to one's own determination. Study the poem, commit it to memory, and seek to emulate its lesson. The words are simple, but the motive grand and sublime.

> "The shades of night were falling fast,
> As through an Alpine village passed
> A youth, who bore through snow and ice
> A banner with the strange device,
> 'Excelsior.'"

Do you see the picture? It is toiling Humanity, with a marked purpose. It is night, and although Pleasure beckons him to rest at the village inn, yet the objects sought have not been attained, and he presses on and on, over snow and ice, bearing his banner with the strange device—"Excelsior."

Do we have the determination of the hero of Longfellow's poem? Our teachers may, to a certain extent, answer this question. They can tell us whether, when we met the difficult problems of our study, we showed the spirit of Excelsior; whether we possess real stability of purpose, and whether we will easily yield to obstacles in the pursuits of life. These

things are but unsubstantials. Soon we shall know the realities, and our friends to-night will either continue their applause or they will pity the failures we make. This class that comes before you for the last time will soon be replaced by another, and our introduction as graduates will be forgotten in your appreciation of those to follow. We know we are but as fleeting moments, with you to-day and gone to-morrow. But there will be no disturbance in the school life of our beloved college. We will remember you with far more vividness than you will remember us. The college and teachers and classmates are photographed upon our hearts, and your likenesses will always remain with us.

I now introduce to you the class of 18—. They have all won the reward of merit. They stand upon no false basis, and like Longfellow's character they can climb the Alpine heights.

"Through rain, and wind, and frost, and snow,
And sing, and shout, as on they go.
'Excelsior!'"

SECTION XXXVII.

ORATION—FOURTH OF JULY.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As I come before you to-day the thought uppermost in my mind is that I am an American citizen, that I am a subject of the grandest Government in the world. But proud as I am, there is not an individual here but feels the same enthusiasm, and although he may not be called upon to express it in words, yet the quickening of his pulse and the flashing of his eye speak a silent eloquence more lasting and more truthful than words.

But why this pride in being an American citizen? Because we know the value of our Government, the value of our institutions, and the value of our freedom. Nowhere on this sphere of ours do we find a combination so wonderfully successful as here. The Creator of the Universe endowed this land with all the natural gifts of forest, stream, and soil.

From east to west, from north to south we find these gifts upon which we build and rear our greatness. Not only do we find them strewn in almost an overabundance, but we find an inspiring genius wrought into the very constitution of the American citizen. We find him quickened in impulses, quickened in physical development, and quickened in all that pertains to thought and action. Like the racehorse that owes its speed and endurance to the long line of its ancestors, so do we, too, trace our lineage. We remember the story of the indomitable perseverance of that great man who repeatedly sought to prove to the authorities of Spain that other continents lay beyond the seas, and when, at last, his vision was fulfilled by the discovery of the American Continent, a new territory was opened to the progressive people of the Old World. The spirit of Christopher Columbus was implanted in the breasts of others, and this commencement of American Independence was only strengthened by the achievements of Cabot, of de Soto, of Hudson, of Father Hennepin, of the stalwart Congress which on the Fourth of July, 1776, declared our people free and independent,

and of the noble Washington, who led his armies through the terrible struggle of the Revolution and established a Government of the people and by the people. And when to-day as we assemble to thank God for our prosperity and self-government, every heart beats in unison as it pours out its patriotic enthusiasm in this grand demonstration of a free and enlightened people, well may we be proud of our inheritance, for, as we clasp hands in friendly greeting, we do so as brothers of one common family, bound together by one common sentiment, and upon the plane of equal rights.

With us, as a people, there are no distinctions beyond those which we create by our own exertions. Free and equal before the eyes of God and man, we build, not through the favoritism of descending legacies, but from the worth that is within us. The humblest man may rise to the highest sphere of American honor. We create no royalty and we bow before none. We regard the President of our United States as a fellow-man, and when we honor him with the demonstrations of approval, we do so, not because of the individual, but because of the exalted station

which he has been called upon to fill. We recognize in every man the peer of his neighbor, and whatever social differences may arise, they are the result of the varying ability with which we have grasped our opportunities. Our institutions rest upon and are governed by this principle of a free channel for the advancement of all, and right here let me tell you that the outcome of the struggle of your existence depends upon your own exertions, and you will succeed just in proportion as you merit promotion. Idleness has no part in the bustling enthusiasm of our day and generation. The keen perception of our vision grasps the situation, and our nervous energy propels us onward at a pace that is wholly American.

We live in an age of wonderful progress. Steam and electricity have forced us from the rut of fifty years ago, and we are now bounding along with great rapidity, each striving to lead, and woe be to the man who idles by the wayside. In this rush for the attainment of our ends there is no time for delay. The springs of our existence are set for action, and we have no patience with those who will not try. The wonderful progress of to-day

is but the beginning. What seems to us as the boundary line of our endeavors will be but old fogyism fifty years hence. What the future has in store for us we dare not dream.

We stand upon the brink of an unknown future. We have but just commenced to utilize the fundamental principles of nature. We are at but the beginning of the unexplained systems which lie beyond. We daily strive to unravel these mysteries, and step by step move onward and upward toward the possibilities which are before us. When we stop and try to comprehend the wonderful strength of the steam engine, the mysterious whisperings of the telephone, and the clatter of the telegraph, we almost doubt that there can be an advance beyond our present achievements. But when we turn aside and view the labors of our inventors and see them trying to demonstrate other principles, grander and more sublime in perception, we wonder what the end will be. Men daily seek to improve. Not content to hear the whisperings of the telephone, they seek to see the sender of the message. Not content with sixty miles an hour, they propose to travel at hundreds.

Not content with this magnificent system of railroads connecting all parts, they seek to rise above the earth and float, as it were, like feathers in the air. Not content with the coal and the gases and the oils of the earth, they seek to burn the waters of the sea. These statements are not drawn from imagination, but are actually what men are trying to do to-day. How well they may succeed only the future can tell, but I warn you to scoff not at these apparently absurd visions. You doubt to-day, as did the wise men of fifty, forty, or twenty years ago. They declared that these things, which are to us now matters of fact, were vain fantasies, impossible of attainment.

But I will not detain you in discussing this future, as no step will be so sudden and so complete as to demoralize our present institutions. All improvements slowly develop from the crudity of a first invention to its adoption by the people. The process of utilization is a slow one, and although the invention may be worthy general adoption, yet it will not be accepted until its merits force themselves upon the attention of the public. It is but a gradual scale of promotion, and whatever

wonderful achievements may be wrought, we shall find the change so gradual that we shall learn to accustom ourselves to these new innovations without realizing the change.

For a moment let us consider the governing influences of to-day. We are wrapped in the mantle of gain. The simplicity of our forefathers has disappeared from the sphere of our present life. The wealth of the nation has broken the ties of true friendship, and we ride like devils over the backs of those who chance to be in our way. We realize our greatness; therefore let us be careful lest we degenerate through our follies and our vices. We have before us, as examples, the fall of earlier civilizations through excess of luxury.

Although we rise to-day to salute the independence of this grand republic, yet let us not forget that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." It is man's nature to rule and govern, and it is the nature of enlightenment to bow in submission to the laws that govern. Without law or order there is no stability of government and no advancement in the arts and sciences. The few may seek, through the concentration of wealth, influence, and politics, to establish in our land an aristoc-

racy, but when their motives become known the swift verdict of the ballot will wipe out the unlawful combination, and we shall restore the purity of our laws and raise from oppression those who are weak. But I have no fears for the integrity of our nation. Too well do we realize the trials and anxieties of the days of 1776. Had the brave men of that period faltered in their devotion and loyalty, the history of to-day might not have been. This debt of gratitude can be paid only by our transmitting to our posterity the laws that govern us, in the same pure state we received them. We feel the sacredness of this heritage, and though we may wander from the simplicity of our fathers, yet we shall never lose sight of the duties of true patriotism.

We shall endeavor to maintain the dignity of our flag, and when our life's tasks are completed, we trust the sentiments of this day will be transmitted by our children to the generations yet unborn.

SECTION XXXVIII.

VALEDICTORY.

Fellow Pupils, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is with mingled feelings of pride, sorrow, and joy that I perform the ceremony that binds us together for the last time as students in our beloved school. Pride, because I have the honor conferred upon me to loose the bonds that have bound us together for so many years, and sorrow, because the sundering of these bonds will end our school days forever.

Farewell! The word strikes to my heart with a sorrow that cannot be expressed. It means more than the dissolving of school ties; it means the opening of a new life to all of us; the commencement of the great future, and the adopting of cares and responsibilities we have never felt. Heretofore we have had our course in life blocked out for us. Now we must mark it out for ourselves. We shall have no teacher to direct but the teacher Experience.

We must stand upon the untried shore of our ambitions and prove our ability to succeed. In the journey just completed we had someone to assist us; now we must help ourselves. The journey will be largely as we make it. If true thoughts and principles and ambitions fill our minds, we may escape those thousands of pitfalls which surround us from manhood to the grave. We know more now than we shall ten years hence. We see the world only from behind the curtain. We believe it is anxious to enter our names in the great book of life. We bid adieu to each other. We take the great pen of promise and write our names in the world's book of fortune. We shall soon buy our first ticket. It is a lottery, but we think we can win. The wheel turns round. We have drawn a blank. We buy again. The world laughs at our innocence and credulity. We are beginning to believe that we must fight for our existence ; that we must depend upon our own counsel, our own judgment, and our own exertions. It is, indeed, the commencement exercises, and we must profit by experience. We find the world is with us when we succeed, but knows us not when we fail. It is a world of strife

instead of that beautiful panorama which we see before us to-night. We are now borne on the wings of love. Our friends cheer us for the success of our efforts. Our teachers predict for us a glorious future. Our heads are turned with the victory we have won by hard study. But alas! it is the end of our childhood. To-morrow we shall be men and women; to-morrow we shall cease to hear your glad voices, and to-morrow we shall be dispersed in all directions.

Twenty years from now we shall appreciate the meaning of the word farewell. It will be a long time ahead, but a short time behind. Twenty years! To us to-night it is a lifetime, but when we reach that season it will be as a dream. For a few moments let us dream of that future. We build fairy castles, and fill them with all the delights which imagination can conjure up. We have won prominence and favor, we are honored and admired for our worth to society, we have accumulated wealth and are surrounded with the joys which it can give unto us. But halt! see that cloud in the blue sky of our horizon. It is no larger than a man's hand. See! It is turning from its fleecy whiteness to the

leaden hue of a tempest. See it roll in its awful fury. The lightnings dart with a terrible meaning. The thunders roll with all the horrors of an awful storm. See that bolt! Did it strike one of our number? He has fallen, crushed by the power of God's fury. We will pick him up and place him before this audience and read his name. Is it one of us? God only knows! It is a human being who, twenty years ago, might have been on this stage. Why has he fallen? Read the answer on his countenance, see the wild look in his eyes as he cries out in despair. His unkempt clothing speaks the folly of a misspent life. He yielded to the tempting glass. He forsook home and friends to pander to that passion which breeds death and desolation. Small in its beginning —a single glass—it grew to awful proportions. Begotten in the thoughtlessness of boyish pleasure it grew to the dark tempest of a forgotten honor. It grew fiercer and fiercer until it destroyed his manhood, wrought disease, and consumed his very soul. All that was once a flattering promise now lies buried in the rags of shame and disgrace. You see the victim and shudder at the appalling sight.

You turn your gaze that you may not know the degradation of a fallen brother; you may pity, but you scorn to stretch forth a helping hand. It is his own folly, and you leave him to his sure destruction. He has no friends, and he wanders like Cain, with the mark of his own murdered soul across his brow. But he is still a human being and may be saved. Christian assistance may open the portals of his closed conscience; the Holy Bible is the only source of light. Call to his mind the days of youth when he kneeled at his bedside and said his evening prayer; speak of the dear mother who now mourns him as numbered with the dead; picture the faithful wife who has died of a broken heart. You may touch the responsive chord of tenderness and remorse. One kind word, one Christian prayer may be the key to unlock the dead chamber of his soul. While there is life there is still hope. He may not be beyond the power of redemption. If we would render a return favor for the blessings and comforts which we enjoy, let us lend a helping hand to those who have fallen—one soul saved may be the means of saving our own. Their degradation may be the picture that

will rise up and admonish us to be faithful to our manhood, our family, and our God.

This scene is not imaginary, but is a terrible reality. God grant that none of us may be of the unhappy victims who go down in the great maelstrom of woe and despair!

Farewell! May the pleasure we enjoy to-night never be clouded by the sorrows of a misspent life. That temptations will visit all of us as we pass through life, is certain, but may we have courage to withstand them, so that when we reach the dark valley of the shadow of death, our fidelity to principle will be a light that will pierce the veil of obscurity and mark the way to the Great Unknown!

SECTION XXXIX.

ADDRESS—CHRISTMAS EVE.

Dear Friends:

Nearly nineteen hundred years ago Herod the king said unto the wise men: "Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

"When they had heard the king, they departed; and lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them . . . and stood over where the young child was.

"When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

"And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshiped him."

Thus opens the history of the Christian era, and in commemoration of this eventful period we too meet to worship, not with the falsehood of Herod when he instructed his wise men to search diligently, but with the con

sciousness of an abiding faith that He is, indeed, the son of God, who spoke from the cloud, saying: "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him."

You know the story of unbelief, persecutions, and crucifixion. You know the example He placed before all mankind—a meek and lowly life—a life without compensation, except from the blessings of mankind.

The unbelief of to-day may not be of the same character as that of the days of Pilate, but it abides in this land of ours, strong and unconvinced. There may be no persecutions or crucifixions, but the sophistry of those who strive against Christianity is more dangerous than the order of a despot. The one may seek in vain to break the faith in Christ by force; while the other, with superficial logic and word-painting, may do what despots fail to do.

The average man cannot be driven. The more you combat his opinions the stronger they become, but through the blandishments of skillful rhetoric he may lose his manhood, his independence of thought, and be won by the sophistries of the atheist. It is this weakness of man that has wrought his ruin. Force

he can combat, but artifice and bribery may break his determination, and the good resolves are forever gone.

Christmas! How sweet the name, for it brings to the Christian the assurance that the Son of God came into the world to save mankind. It is the day of all days on which we should lay down our burden of sorrow, put aside the feelings of hatred, and in the spirit of good will to all seek to emulate the life of Him we worship. Glorious day! for it gave to mankind a day of gladness and joy, a day of forgiveness and hope, a day of assurance and reward. We meet and greet each other with the gladness of a full heart; we rejoice and thank God that he gave his only begotten Son that generations of men may rise up and bless Him.

How few appreciate the grandeur of the occasion when, nearly nineteen hundred years ago, the angels sang together over the advent of the great joy! If the angels of heaven were overjoyed at the birth of Christ, how much more should we bless the day of his birth! In these days of scientific achievement we scarcely stop to read the teachings of the New Testament; we enter into the joy

of a Christmas feast, not so much in commemoration of the birth of Christ as for selfish gratification. Little do we heed the lesson of the Great Master when He said: "For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me." These are the lessons of true Christianity. We are asked to consider the destitute and the distressed; to contribute to the relief of those who are worthy and need assistance. "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." It is the lesson of true charity—seek to alleviate the distress of the most humble being on earth, "and ye have done it unto me." He taught us that though there may be a distinction between fellow-men socially, yet in sickness and distress we all stand upon the same level, for, "inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

SECTION XL.

A TEMPERANCE ADDRESS—THE NICKEL BEHIND THE BAR.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is not necessary for me to characterize the saloon. Too well you know its character and the untold misery it causes. You see the thousands and tens of thousands of these instruments of evil as they reach for the last nickel of the poor besotted wretch, who forgets his very soul in satisfying his appetite for strong drink. Oh! what fearful wreck and ruin are wrought to swell the receipts of the man behind the bar.

The picture is one you cannot do justice to, try as you may. Its hideous character covers the vilest thoughts, the darkest and deepest despair. You find concealed in that nickel the unwritten history of more woe, misery, and distress than come from all other crimes of mankind. You see manhood brought to a condition below the brute. You

see genius uttering the low, maudlin speech of the drunkard. You see father and brothers, young men and old men, going down into that hell where there are no respect, no honor, no mercy, no sympathy, no blessing; where there are only remorse, disgrace, confusion, and sin.

This is but a part of the picture engraved upon the nickel. If we could drop the curtain and cover these infamous facts without transferring the evil to innocent lives, how thankful we should be! But the darkest scene is that in the home of the poor wretch who feeds his soul upon the fiery poison. You see the grim monster of destitution and want as it starves the babe at its mother's breast. You see the fireless hearth, the shivering forms, and the empty cupboard, and wonder why God, in his infinite wisdom, should doom these innocent victims to a living grave while the man behind the bar revels in his gains. You cannot realize the terrible, the mortal, agony of the drunkard's wife: the tears, the supplications, on one hand; on the other, the blows, the imprecations of that being who once swore to love and protect his present victim.

See him as, with unsteady step, he mounts

the rickety stairway to that place he calls home—a miserable hovel without one ray of comfort. He lifts the latch and, with an oath, steps into the dark and cheerless chamber. Where is she, the wife, who for years has met him with whatever comfort it was possible for her to give? "Father," a trembling child replies, "Mamma is sick, but I will bring a light." What a light! The remnants of a lamp, without a chimney, scarce any oil, the last in the can. It sheds a flickering flame, and we see the pallid form worn down to the last thread of its existence. There, on that cot, lies the once beautiful bride; yes, beautiful, as she walked forth in the morning of her womanhood, pleased with the prospect that lay before her—but, oh! the change that man has wrought. The damning thirst for rum has wrested from that fond heart all the happiness of life and thrust it aside, as a crushed flower, to wither and to die.

But see that fiend incarnate, with loathsome breath and oath-stained lips, as he stumbles across the room to drag the dying wife from her last repose! She starts, her eyes dilate, as the vision of past abuse rises before her eyes. Her body is weak and she falls back,

praying God to save her soul. She closes her eyes, and in her despair shrieks for aid. The child, a tiny girl, realizes the terrible situation,—the dying mother, the brutal husband,—and in her frenzy she clasps her father's knees and pleads for her mother.

"Papa! Oh, papa! Mamma is dying, do not strike her any more." The plea reaches the one manly feeling left in his heart. His crazed brain is freed for a moment, and in the awful stillness which follows the wife opens her eyes and views the scene before her—the husband, the father, held by the despairing daughter. The thought creeps into her brain that her end is to be one of peace, and as she looks into her husband's eyes she smiles a sad farewell, and her spirit takes its flight to its God. But what a tableau in the sight of the Omnipotent—the dead, the living, the degradation and misery; and all from that accursed greed that takes the nickel behind the bar.

And now I appeal to you, as men with hearts of love and pity, not to ignore this terrible specter, which stalks the earth like an evil spirit and brings to an untimely grave so many of your fellow-beings. The picture I

have drawn is not an emanation from the imagination, but represents an awful reality. You know from whence arose this misery, where the responsibility for it will rest. See the accumulation of untold wealth wrung from the tears of innocent victims! See how the moral principles of man sink into this great maelstrom which swallows up the mind, the body, the soul of men. See how the hundreds of millions of capital which are heaped up in the breweries and distilleries are being swelled by the last nickel of wretched sots! Think you that the owners of this wealth are not accessory to the crimes and wicked deeds of the world?

Shame on the man who dares to impugn the evidence that shows that every hell-hole—from the great brewery down to the bar—is accessory to the destruction and death of the millions who sink into shame and disgrace! Follow the course of the nickel, and you will find it helping to swell the fiery stream of ill-gotten gains, until at last it rushes, with millions of others, into a mighty ocean of wealth. Look at it, and tell me, if you dare, that this ocean of wealth has not produced more damning deeds than all the pens of history can

ever record. Talk of the moral principles of man! What check do they impose on this awful curse to our fellow-men? I only wonder that God, in His just wrath, does not blot out of life even the so-called Christian man for allowing the existence of such a monstrous wrong.

SECTION XLI.

ESSAY—COAST DEFENSES.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

There is an old saying, and a wise one, that says, "In time of peace prepare for war." It is true that most of us feel our relations with European powers to be such that war is highly improbable. We are apt to think the maintenance of a standing army, the erection of fortifications, the creation—the word is used advisedly—of a navy, in the modern sense, all involve useless expense, but we fail to realize the weakness of the bond which holds the nations in concord to-day. We are a sensitive people, and all Europe stands upon the brink of a terrible volcano. While we disclaim any possibility of serious eruptions on our side of the great ocean, yet let me call your attention to certain passages in our recent history that teach a lesson we well may heed.

You remember the massacre of Italians at

New Orleans and the anger of Italy. How well we handled that hot-headed government is a matter of history. By diplomatic courtesies we avoided an open rupture, and the peace of the two nations in question was undisturbed. Again, we find our sailors, when in a port of Chili, some shot and some imprisoned, for a comparatively trifling offense, and our flag insulted by a disreputable mob. Our Government asked for an investigation, an apology, and the payment of an indemnity. You remember the feeling of anxiety which prevailed for weeks, and how relieved we were when tranquillity was restored. Again we face a serious question when the Behring Sea seal fisheries are made a subject of Government correspondence. The question is not yet settled. We do not anticipate any struggle outside the sphere of diplomacy, for the whole seal industry is not worth human life—but who can tell? Some of the most trivial agencies have thrown nations into years of war. While we boast of our powers of settling disputes by arbitration, or a fair discussion of conditions, yet in the twinkling of an eye we strike down the arm that insults our national honor. Our patriotism knows

no excuse for an insult to our country and our flag. Again we see Great Britain attempting to enlarge her territory at the expense of the republic of Venezuela. We fly to the assistance of our southern sister, and for a time our jingoes declare that armed intervention is the only course open. Time has cooled the hot blood of all three nations, and we again escape the eruption that seemed inevitable.

Suppose we faced Spain on the east and Japan on the west. The cool attitude of Cleveland and McKinley was in marked contrast with the attitude of our Congress. Our Presidents may be justified in their policy of caution, but we, as a people, cannot brook delay. We sympathized with Cuba and Hawaii, and sought every opportunity to show our loyalty to Freedom and her champions. Who can say what the results might have been if the Senate of the United States had carried its resolutions into effect? In one sense we were meddling with another nation's business when we sought to declare the independence of Cuba. Who can say, if at that time we had carried our passionate appeals, if Europe would have sanctioned our interference? While we do not fear Japan or Spain, yet

conditions may arise in which our position may be mistaken for one of self-aggrandizement, and the allied forces of Europe and Asia might cry halt.

These are conditions we have faced in the past, and who can say we shall be equally fortunate in the future? Our diplomacy may not take its tone from the caution of Cleveland and McKinley, but from the hot temper of our impulsive Congress. What then may be our relations with foreign Governments? We may look lightly upon these bygone episodes and count them trifles, but when we analyze their possible magnitude we almost shudder to think how near we were treading to the danger line.

Without a careful declaration of national rights, what might have been the consequences with Italy and Chili? Two small nations, but in what condition were our defenses? Our thousands of miles of defenseless ocean, gulf, lake, and river shores were open to attack. Without a powerful navy and fortifications to protect our cities, how could we withstand the advance of these powerful engines of destruction that now form the strength of a nation at sea? It is now a

time of peace; let us prepare for the possibilities of the future. Our diplomatic astuteness may not again pilot us through the intricate channel of another Venezuelan difficulty, or we may fail peaceably to settle with Great Britain the Behring Sea question, or Spain and Japan may come to an open rupture with us. Therefore, let us "build for the future."

While Europe is constantly strengthening her positions on land and on water, do not let us remain idle on the supposition that no danger can come to us. Do not let us imagine, because we have the grandest country on earth, the most perfect form of freedom, the strength of wealth, the bounties of nature, and the ability to manufacture or purchase the equipment necessary for any war, that we are secure in peace and prosperity. First let us consider the time required to carry out any great undertaking. If we do not have a revenue large enough to defray the expense, let us counsel together and devise ways and means. If our great cities on the Atlantic Gulf and Pacific shores are open to the sudden attack of an enemy, let us call the most skillful engineers to plan their protec-

tion. It may require years to perfect a system of defense, but when once established we shall, as a nation, breathe with greater freedom and independence. It is a condition worthy the earnest thought of a progressive people. You remember the oft-repeated quotation, "A horse, a horse! my kingdom for a horse!" While the circumstances of the battle of Bosworth may not exactly represent the condition of a defenseless town, yet security in times of war is a valuable possession for any city. With a horse the monarch could see safety in flight; with a formidable navy and local defenses we command respect, diplomacy meets with more attention, and we are esteemed by other nations for our worth as a people of advancement in all that pertains to peace and prosperity, offense and defense.

Nations are not blind to the strength of their opponents. A good army and navy are an important factor in the settlement of differences. They soften harshness of speech and cool the currents of passion. With them behind us, we feel that we are not dependent upon the amiability of others. We know our strength and how to enforce the demands of right and justice.

From the standpoint of diplomacy we need these essentials to enforce our policy. We all work and act largely upon the principle of policy. It becomes the policy of a nation, a party, an individual to seek for position, or gain, through some channel that does not excite actual competition. It is policy that has governed the great powers of Europe in their intervention between Turkey and Greece. It is policy that closed the ears of Europe to the cries of the Armenians. It is policy that controlled our course toward Cuba and Hawaii. It is policy that governs all international action, and it is policy that will place our armaments on an equal footing with those of any nation on the globe. Our policy should be able to protect our positions, command respect, and avoid misunderstandings.

But I hear the questions of how and when? My answer is, now; let us commence immediately. Let us secure the means of defense by a patriotic appeal to our people; not that we shall ask them to contribute of their savings, or to increase the revenues of government. We have just passed through a series of depressions and losses. We are not prepared to increase our taxation. We feel that it is

far better to curtail our expenses than to increase them. We are poor and need our energies to regain the footing of the past. How then can we commence immediately to construct these evidences of our strength? Let me tell you. It is an original idea, based upon the good sense and patriotism of the whole people. It is a system through which business will be interested, labor rewarded, and prosperity assured. Let me explain it: We have the time, energy, and ability to build such defenses as will challenge the admiration of all nations. True, we have now some of the most formidable ships of war yet built. What we have are strong in *personnel* and equipment. But numerically we are far behind the principal countries of Europe. We have no reason to be ashamed of our modern war vessels, but desire to add to them as soon as the necessary means can be procured. It has been customary whenever a nation, state, or municipality desires to raise money to sell bonds. To the nation belongs the sole right to issue money and determine the value thereof. We ought to expend $150,000,000 on the defenses of our country. Let an act of Congress authorize the issue of $150,000,000,

full legal-tender "Coast Defense Money," to be used only in the payment of labor and material for this work, or to be redeemed only by its retirement after a term of years, providing it is not needed longer as a circulating medium. Let us suppose the act requires the retirement of $10,000,000 a year after the issue has all been drawn to meet the expenses of this new plan, or let the whole sum remain subject to the will of Congress, but to be retired if it is declared necessary. As the increase of population and the extension of industries go on, this issue of $150,000,000 will in all probability only meet the demands of business, and the "Coast Defense Money" will remain a permanent fixture in our finances. By this means we shall be enabled to place our defenses in a position which will be a source of pride, as well as security, to us, and without any cost to the people. From the banking side we may receive protests against the issue of a currency not expressly provided with a redemption in coin, but from a business view of the situation we have no fear of its value ever depreciating. It becomes legal tender, meets the taxation of the country, is received by the Government in the

payment of duties on imports, internal revenue, and in every respect becomes current money. So we have accomplished our purpose. We have fortified our cities, increased our navy, employed labor, and infused fresh blood into the whole business of the country. As every dollar thus put into circulation represents a dollar in labor, it cannot be said that it represents no value. It represents a grand value—the employment of labor. Its object is one of genuine patriotism—the protection of government. The increased volume of money means added energy in every department of business. It bears no interest bond as its security, but secures the safety of a nation in the great brotherhood of governments. Its base of value is the good it can accomplish. You may attempt to belittle its position by calling it names, but with these attributes no power on earth but dissolution of our union of States can affect its value. You may cry fiat, irredeemable, unconstitutional, or you may denounce it as unwise, impolitic, unbusiness-like, and yet it will stand every blow of malice, of envy, of jealousy, of scorn and contempt. Its patriotism will lift it above every lying epithet hurled against it.

And now, my friends, why not adopt this currency? If you feel that there must be a redemption clause, then slowly withdraw it from circulation after it has accomplished its purpose. Do not convert it into bonds for the taxation of posterity. Issue it as a necessity, employ it in the business of the country, and when you have satisfied yourselves that it can no longer remain a benefit to the people, then take measures for its retirement. But, my friends, this will never be done. Once establish "Coast Defense Money," and it will always remain as a monument of wise statesmanship. We shall see the work it has accomplished, and the genuine patriotism of a people will applaud its merits and demand its continuance.

Other nations may look with skepticism upon this currency; they may refuse to use it in trade, or they may denounce its inception as a wild scheme of speculation, but, my friends, let us point to its object and its origin. Let us ask those nations if New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and San Francisco shall remain undefended to gratify their prejudices. Let us ask them if it is any of their business what medium we use in our internal com-

merce. Let us ask them if this "Coast Defense Money" is not issued for our benefit, our prosperity, and our protection. Let us ask them if we must consult outside influences as to the best mode of building armored vessels, constructing forts, erecting arsenals, and equipping ourselves with all the means of defense. No, we must settle these things for ourselves. We do not propose to go outside for instruction as to the best mode of warfare and how to manage it. It is the one thing we discuss only in the councils of our nation. We seek no advice from Europe, Asia, or Africa. If, in our judgment, we desire to prepare for war in time of peace, our patriotism should be able to surmount all obstacles. Our experiences in the past only demonstrate what the future may be, and until the great nations of Europe lay down their arms let us prepare for any sudden crisis, so as not to be taken unawares. So, my friends, we advocate an extensive line of public defenses, and we would meet this emergency, not by taxation, but by an issue of "Coast Defense Money"—a money that will not be maintained by interest, but by the good sense and patriotism of the American people.

APPENDIX.

I.

QUESTION.

Would it be advisable for our government to grant absolute independence to the people of the Philippine Islands?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen: The question is one that has been discussed, pro and con, by every citizen of the United States, and in all this discussion there are but two primary lines of contention: one is based upon the great declaration "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the con-

sent of the governed." The other is based upon the theory that the peoples of the archipelago are not capable of self-government, and, coming to us through a treaty of peace, become a national charge which we must accept and govern. Those who claim it a duty to deny self-government do so on the boasted sentiment that we are more capable of deciding what are the rights of the islanders to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness than they are themselves. These upholders of American ascendency quiet their consciences on the ground that our superior wisdom should dictate; that it is an act of Providence; that the fortunes of war made us their custodians; that we become responsible to all other governments; that the great Oriental development makes it an absolute necessity to hold those islands as a vantage ground in the world's competition; that it is a means for the expansion of commerce, for industrial energy, and, covering the whole with the hypocrisy of a professed religion, that is to be the means of spreading Christianity. They cite all these particulars in the support of their advocacy. My friends, if we analyze these particulars what do we find?

We find only the elements of what are supposed to be our benefits, not those of the natives. It is our nation, not theirs; our prosperity, not theirs. There is no idea of true philanthropy, but a desire for commercial benefits; a wish to make the Philippines the vantage ground for future Oriental conflicts, the better to protect speculation, to promote the projects of capital and all its greed implies, and to use these people and their lands for selfish purposes. There is no wish to give them the benefits of that American independence which has been our boasted heritage for more than one hundred years.

It is not a question of sentiment, nor is it one that can be lightly ignored. It is a question of right and justice. It is either right and just for a people to institute self-government, or it is not. We cannot ignore this element of right and wrong by substituting selfish plans under cover of providential care. Monarchical governments claim the right to hold and govern without considering subjects' rights. Republics claim that this doctrine is despotic, and cannot be tolerated in any measure whatever. It is either self-

government or it is government by others. Because of the fact that we stand on a certain eminent plane of power and influence, it does not necessarily follow that we have the right to trespass upon those who stand upon a lower plane than ours. Might is physical force, but not a moral power. When we claim the right to govern because of the fortunes of war, we simply seek an excuse for our conduct, and try to harmonize our declarations of non-encroachment with our desires to possess. We use Providence as another excuse, and declare that we must abide by the hand of Fate. My friends, we are endeavoring to cover the real purpose which impels an armed subjugation. From the standpoint of our own history we know it is wrong, but then we argue that our history cannot apply to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. We were capable of self-government, but these people are not. We were endowed with all the gifts of a high civilization,—trade, arts, science, and inventions,—while these people are scarcely enlightened, have a crude idea of government, and little ambition to rise above the tribal relations that are a characteristic.

To discuss this question intelligently we must take the point of view of the people of those islands as well as our own. Physically, morally, and commercially we are all right just as we are, and it will never make any difference to us as a nation, or as individuals, whether we recognize them as entitled to a free and independent government, or hold them in subjection to our own will. It is a small matter to us, but a very great and grave question to them. We may imagine that our position as a "world power" and a Christian nation can confer to those distant people better privileges than it is possible for them to attain under their own laws and usages. When we declare this we take the same stand as was declared by King George in 1776. It is an identical situation. Parliament sought to retain sovereignty, and a war of conquest ensued. Our ancestors won, and the Declaration of Independence has ever been the great pillar for our support. The people of the Philippine Islands have repeatedly sought to establish the same rights of self-government. They have been fighting Spain for more than one hundred years. They have educated their children to de-

nounce tyranny and to strike for freedom. Their history is one of constant determination to establish a government of their own. It has cost Spain in the three hundred years of occupation a thousand times more than the benefits which she has received. The nations of the interior were never conquered. Spain held only the seaport cities and a narrow strip of territory. It has been an unconquered people from the day she planted her flag and proclaimed them subjects of Spain. Rebellion has marked the history of this people just as it marked the early history of our own. Our spirit of independence rose to conquer, and in their weakness they are trying to do likewise.

There is not one among you but has discussed the story of the Philippines. Many of you can see in this story only the accumulation of property. It is but another gold dollar added to the imaginary strength of our resources. You call it expansion in which every American citizen must reap a benefit; you compare it to the acquisitions of territory that now extend from ocean to ocean, and from Gulf to Lakes. In your haste to approve, your comparisons are faulty. As Louisiana,

California, Texas, and the great Northwest have been of inestimable benefit to this nation, so you claim that the possession of the Philippines, seven thousand miles from our shores, must be equally beneficial. To you it is possession, regardless of the conditions that may surround the possession. Therefore let me ask you three questions: Was Louisiana and the Great West a wilderness, or was it peopled with nine millions of souls fighting for their independence? Was Texas forced to acknowledge American sovereignty, or did she plead for years for admittance? Was the ceding of California by Mexico a parallel with the ceding of the Philippines by Spain? No; a thousand times, no! You can find no comparison whatever. Louisiana was purchased because our self-preservation required that we own and control the Mississippi River. It was a matter of protection. We saw the necessity of the investment, and there were no people in that vast wilderness to deny our sovereignty. Texas was a republic, and California had declared her allegiance to the American Government. The great States of Washington, Oregon, Montana, and Idaho were annexed through

purchase, while minor acquisitions were of their own free will and accord.

Now let me continue these questions by asking the following: Have these people earned independence? Have they a right to it? Do we, the American people, have the right to say to them that it must be denied? These are questions, my friends, that we must face. But now steel your conscience and say: It is true they have learned independence, but in their chaotic state they are not competent to exercise it. We will mold them into proper plastic condition before granting them the privilege of governing themselves. When this is done, we will step down and out and let them be their own law-makers. This is the sophistry of kings, not republicans. We may be superior intellectual beings, but for all that we have no right to dominate any race at the expense of that God-given right of freedom and of self-government. We have no right to say that these people shall be denied that grand right of our own Declaration, which says that "all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights, which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Let us for a moment consider this subject

from a business standpoint. If we cannot accord to them the inalienable rights proclaimed by our own Declaration of Independence, then let us analyze it as a matter of business. Do we need them in our business? No! Do we need them to assist in the business of other nations? No! Is it a profitable investment? It may be for those who would exploit the country, but to us, as a nation, it has given a sad return. The lives of our noble boys, the maimed, the destroyed health, the tears of the mothers, the hundreds of millions of treasure can never be measured by trade and possession. As an investment it has been a gloomy failure. But even if it had been a financial success, we must still deal with the question on the basis of the rights of fellow beings.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: One would suppose from the declarations of my worthy opponent that we were viewing this question from the standpoint of philanthropy, and not considering it as a practical problem. The speaker has laid great stress

upon the sentimental side of the question, instead of discussing it as a business proposition. He cites us to King George, the Declaration of American Independence, the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; to the cost of life and treasure; to justice and injustice; and to all the phases of self-government and the God-given privilege of its enjoyment. These are high-sounding figures of speech, calculated to maintain that oft-repeated, impossible quotation, that all men are created equal. Not even in theory can this argument be sustained. It is an impossible assertion. It is not real, and can exist only in the imagination of those who believe in the fallacy of the "Brotherhood of man." The "survival of the fittest" is a far more appropriate theory than that all men are created equal. The one is an order of creation, the law of progression, while the other is an impossible sentiment. The chimerical notion of equality does not enter into the question.

Let me read to you the question: "Would it be advisable for our government to grant absolute independence to the people of the Philippine Islands?" I say no, it would not.

We are not discussing any declaration of independence, but we are discussing the relationship as it exists to-day between our government and the people of those islands. Would it be advisable, is the question, and not the sentiment of a Fourth of July orator who pencils the horizon with impossible pictures. We are not discussing what the desires of the Filipinos may have been, or what they are now, but the advisability of granting them absolute independence. You will notice, my friends, a very great difference between the desire of granting a prayer and the practicability of granting it. The child in early summer desires to eat of the forbidden fruit. The parent says: "Wait, my son, until it is ripe, and then you will suffer no evil after-effects." The child rebels; he is impatient; he wants to gratify his appetite; he thinks it will do him no harm, or he may not think at all. This may be a homely illustration, yet it practically explains the situation under discussion.

The population of the Philippines is composed of numerous tribes inhabiting a great many islands. They know nothing of self-government, except the restraint of chiefs of

semi-barbarous people. They have been under Spanish rule for three hundred years, and now to grant them absolute independence would be political suicide. Far better that we now use an ounce of prevention than be obliged to apply a pound of cure; therefore I can assure my hearers that it is not advisable to grant their wish until we are assured that they are capable of carrying on a just and stable government. Beside this, we do not know that it is the wish of even half of the people of those islands. We are informed by reliable authority that many of the most intelligent are actually afraid to try self-government unless the United States stands by and guarantees protection.

To compare them with our own colonies in 1776 is simply comparing ignorance with intelligence. It is the application of that drivel that all men are created equal. The cases bear no resemblance of a parallel. Our forefathers had experience in governing. They had formed colonial governments and administered the laws of the commonwealth. They had instituted commerce, established business, issued bills of credit, and were able to maintain governmental authority. King George

exacted unjust tribute, and our fathers rebelled, declared their independence, fought for it, and won. To compare our Revolutionary forefathers with the half-civilized people of the Philippine Islands is an injustice to their memory. It is no fairer a comparison of merit than to say that this audience stands upon the same plane of equality as the Malay people.

In the treaty of peace Spain ceded to us all of her possessions in the West Indies, and as we had practically captured her fleet and army in the Philippines, we were compelled to include those islands. Of course we could have restored the islands to Spain, but not an American citizen would have sanctioned such an action. We had liberated Cuba from the Weyler atrocities, and declared that she should be free, and to abandon the Filipinos to the tender mercies of their past tyrants would have been a disgrace to this nation. We had, almost unconsciously, secured these Spanish colonies. They came to us without the asking, and we could not turn them away until they were capable of peaceably handling their own affairs. It is true we have been obliged to expend a vast amount of treasure

and thousands of lives of our brave soldiers to sustain American authority. We were there, and what could we do that we did not do? Order must be restored. We were held responsible for the good behavior of these people. The world acknowledged our obligation by acknowledging our authority to hold and to govern. They were by international law our protegés, and being under our protection we must be responsible for their conduct. To abandon them would have necessitated the presence of some other power to keep the peace and preserve trade and commerce. Having destroyed the only power that had governed them, we had no right to leave them in confusion and chaos. It was a case of necessity, not that of choice, on our part. It was the act of an honorable nation when we declared that the cry of Cuba should be heard The victory of Dewey decided the fate of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippine Islands. The treaty of peace formally surrendered that sovereignty, and hence we remain responsible for the government and the conduct of the governed.

It is not the intention of this government to make those people dependent subjects, or

to exploit them for our benefit. Such a course would be abhorred by every American citizen. We did not expend our treasure and our lives in the liberation of Cuba in order to dominate those people, nor is it the disposition of any individual here to-night to do one thing that will retard the peace and prosperity of the Filipinos. What is our sentiment is the sentiment of every man, woman, and child in the United States. We are a people who came into the control of our own destiny by the revolution of 1776. We revere the Declaration of Independence, and desire that all the people of the earth shall enjoy the same blessings which we have attained under it. We do not wish to monopolize the spirit of self-government. We know the beneficent influence of liberty upon every nation that has secured it.

We have done what no other nation on the globe would have done, when we drove Spain from the island of Cuba, and then gave to those suffering people a free government, entering no charge for services performed. Were we in the colonial grab business we would have held that island as ours, instead of transferring it to the Cuban people. But,

my friends, we did not do this until stability had been established, and we were assured of a government able to enforce its laws. What we did there we will do in the Philippines. When laws are respected and it is evident that all men will be treated as equal under the law, then, and not until then, will they be permitted to govern themselves. As for absolute independence now, we cannot and must not consider it. What the future may develop does not bear upon the question. While we hope their development will be broad and expansive, yet we cannot anticipate. Time may demonstrate that the natives are fitted for self-government, and when that period arrives we shall be ready to do as we have done in Cuba—grant to the Filipinos the constitutional privileges prescribed by the Republic of the Philippines.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: The argument of the last speaker is based almost wholly upon the following points:

First. It is not advisable to grant indepen-

dence until we are assured of a just and stable government.

Second. After driving Spain from the islands we had no right to leave them without some form of law to protect and govern.

Third. They came to us without the asking, and must not be abandoned.

Fourth. We gave the Cubans their freedom, and will do the same, some time, with the Filipinos. The speaker dwells at considerable length upon the hypothesis that we, as a nation, can do no wrong. Let us not be so sure of this, for nations, as well as individuals, can err. What may seem right to us may be construed as wrong by others. When we declared war against Spain the sentiment of European nations was not with us. To still the charge that we were prompted to interfere in Spain's domestic affairs for profit, we made a public declaration that Cuba should be a free and independent state. We had no other alternative but to fulfill that declaration. Had it never been given, Cuba, like Porto Rico and the Philippines, would still remain a subject province of the United States. We could not ignore the declaration of independence which we declared was the motive power

of our action. But it is easy to say this declaration does not apply to the other Spanish possessions which we obtained.

The argument advanced by the last speaker that we must first be assured of a just and stable government is very much like the mother's admonition to her son: "You must not go near the water, Johnnie, until you know how to swim." But the Filipinos can swim. They had had a government that we pulled down; a government that almost won for them their independence from Spanish rule. We bought Spain's club, and have ever since been mauling them with it. Dewey even recognized their flag and accepted them as allies to defeat the Spanish soldiers.

In the second particular my opponent pleads that we had no right to leave them without some form of law to protect and govern. He forgets, or purposely ignores, the fact that Spain had practically lost all control over the inhabitants except in a very small area; consequently if we took no government from them when Spain surrendered, they lost nothing. The fact is, Mr. Chairman, we are the ones that destroyed their form of legislation. We have waged a war

of conquest. We captured their leaders. We drove them from hamlet to hamlet. We called them rebels. We have never tried to secure peace by holding out a declaration of some form of independence.

Our offer has been "unconditional surrender, and then we will discuss what is best for you to do." We may talk of sometime giving these people self-government. That is poor encouragement for those who fought to obtain it. That we must dictate their destinies regardless of the consent of the governed, is not a foundation principle of republican institutions. We quiet our consciences by raising the plea tending to demonstrate a condition better under our government than could be obtained under theirs.

From a business standpoint we are not allowed to count the cost. Besides the annual expense of the army, it was only recently that an officer high in the navy declared that we must add to our warships, otherwise we would not be prepared to defend our new possessions in case of a foreign war. Here we have it in a nutshell. Outlying possessions must be protected, and an armed fleet must be provided. It means that

we must scatter our navy all over the sea in order to meet any emergency that might arise. What we did with Spain others would try to do with us. The first attack of the enemy would be to harass our colonies, and thus draw from the coast defenses of our own country. Without these new obligations we could restore our army to its former size. We could expend all our navy appropriations at home. We would be compact in body. We would have no unwilling subjects to watch. We would always be at home, with nothing for an enemy to attack but our home.

The money we are expending in the distant Philippines could be used to develop our arid lands; to build good roads for all our people; to establish postal telegraph and carry messages by wire as we now carry by mail; to expend for our government, instead of trying to hold in subjection a race that never can be a unit with us. All this and more could be added to our national equipment if such expenses were transferred from a needless and useless foreign mission to a practical development of home institutions. Therefore we do not demand absolute independence wholly because it is just and right,

but because we cannot afford to tax our people without return for such taxation; because it is not good policy to become entangled in the quarrels of Europe, Asia, or Africa; because a colonial government is foreign to our system; because the more territory we acquire the more jealous become the nations with which we compete. If necessary to protect these people from foreign invasion, we can say as we do of Mexico or the South American states: Hands off, if the motive is to acquire territory, and woe be to that nation which attempts it.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: In closing this argument I will mention only the facts in the case, and on these facts ask for judgment. Many predict that our rapid expansion of commerce will induce the nations of Europe to form an alliance to curtail our prosperity. Commercial jealousy already exists in every avenue of foreign trade. With Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hawaii we can become independent of Europe in the production of sugar. With the good will of

Mexico and South American states we can import our supplies of coffee, fruits, and other articles not produced by us. With the Philippine Islands developed by our own capital we shall have an unlimited supply of raw hemp and its products, spices, rubber, furniture lumber, minerals, etc. If they produced nothing but twine, it would be a grand possession, in which every farmer with a harvester would become financially interested. Many claim that the greatest invention of the age is the machine that binds the grain. My friends, these new possessions of ours furnish the twine with which to do it. Some of you may say we can get these various articles through the usual channels of trade. True; but isn't it far better to produce it ourselves? We could continue to buy sugar from Germany, but how much more prosperous for the nation to produce it within her own borders.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, have we done the people of these islands an injustice by liberating them from Spain's control? Will it be an injustice to them to develop their country by building railroads; by utilizing their natural resources; by employing them

in new fields of labor; by establishing schools; by instituting sanitary measures for the prevention of disease; by teaching them the ways of a progressive nation; by developing their country and giving them freedom? Are these gifts, which we bestow upon them, in the nature of blessings, or will you place them in the category of wrongs inflicted upon them?

Gentlemen, the question comes to us in this practical fashion: Are we, or are we not, a benefactor to these people? Will they become advanced in intelligence by our coming? Will the introduction of the arts and sciences be of service to them? If by our occupation we produce ten units where formerly only one existed, is that of value? My friends, disabuse your minds of that sentiment which grasps only self-government, and not a prosperity which is the only means by which ambition can be infused into an otherwise decaying people. Let any nation produce, and it will rise in strength and greatness.

A few years ago Japan was regarded as an unimportant country. To-day she stands as a world power. She copied from the enlightened nations of Europe and America,

and now is in the foremost rank. Spain never tried to conquer through the development of resources. Her policy was ever force of arms. We, as Americans, seek to institute the arts of peace; to elevate through the power of progression; to cultivate the desire for trade and commerce; to bring prosperity; to teach the equality of, and justice to, all men; and to protect our dependents in their enjoyment of life, liberty, and in the pursuit of happiness. If we give all these blessings we need not be ashamed to demand an obedience to law and order. We need not look at our Declaration of Independence and tremble lest our opponents find therein a sentiment at variance with its principles. We need not be ashamed of any act of ours, and finally we need not be ashamed to say that it is not advisable for our government to grant absolute independence to the people of the Philippine Islands.

II.

QUESTION.

Is it good government for the United States to maintain a standing army greater than is actually necessary to enforce the laws of the country?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: The question we are to discuss is one of momentous importance to us as a people. Its importance comes to us from two opposite sources. First, the place we now occupy in the world's politics naturally suggests the necessity of guarding our position, not that we would use the body-guard of government to extend our domain, but to prevent others from infringing upon our vested rights. Second, there always looms up before us the burdensome expense of unnecessary armaments in the time of peace. Armies and navies are costly adjuncts to any government, but the question comes to us: Is it good policy at the present time

to ignore the possibilities that may come upon us? The nations of the earth are bristling with millions of bayonets, and while we may never again meet in conflict a foreign foe, yet we have no assurance that we can steer clear of danger and live in perfect peace. Only a few years ago we fancied ourselves secure, but circumstances not of our making aroused the people from Maine to California, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. In the twinkling of an eye we were hurled into war. How bitterly did we chide ourselves for not adopting that old adage, "In times of peace prepare for war." We could not measure the strength of Spanish arms, and feared lest the great cities of the Atlantic coast were not protected. We imagined a series of disasters, but when the wave of victory came rolling to us we smiled at our fears. Europe stood amazed at our achievements, and for the first time in our national existence we became a "world power," and to-day we stand where we never dreamed of standing. We have planted our flag, not only on the soil of the Spanish possessions of the East and the West, but we have raised that banner in the Celestial Empire. Where

the end is, no man can prophesy. The commercial power of the American people is being keenly felt by England, France, Germany, and Russia. It is a condition which at any moment may produce the spark that will explode the magazines of all Christendom.

Suppose Great Britain had not heeded the demand of President Cleveland, when he said the Venezuelan controversy must be settled by arbitration. Were we prepared to sustain that demand? Suppose Great Britain should say to us, "You may not build the Nicaragua Canal." Are we prepared to sustain our position? Several times in the last few years we have had foreign complications. We threatened war with Chili, and Italy asked for indemnity for the murder of some of her subjects in New Orleans. It is true we adjusted the difficulties with Italy, Chili, and Great Britain, but next time we may not.

After the settlement of these foreign difficulties the question of defenses came before Congress, and under Mr. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, great preparations were made for building men-of-war. Congress made large appropriations, and we are proud to-day of what was then started. But for this prep-

aration there might have been no victory over the fleet of Cervera. If, my friends, we could be assured that no foreign difficulties would come to us, it would be indeed foolish for our government to keep a standing army greater than is actually necessary to enforce the laws of the country; but experience demonstrates that several times we have stood upon the crater of a smoldering volcano. We were ignorant of the danger, and believed our security rested in our isolation. Our history has been one continuous and prosperous peace with European nations. We were satisfied with the development of the resources of our own country. We had no ambitions beyond our own shores. We fondly imagined that no evil could befall us. But, presto! change! We feel our strength. We have gone beyond the confines of the Western Continent; we are engaged in world politics; we have measured our strength, and won; we now seek to compete with the whole world; we have underbid the greatest manufacturers of structural iron; our looms are busy clothing even the people of China; we build bridges in South Africa, railroads in Russia, furnish locomotives to Australia, and agricul-

tural machinery wherever grain is produced. We have grown from "infant industries" to the most colossal combinations that history has ever seen. Wealth beyond computation has rolled into our coffers. While we stand a veritable giant in the strength of resources, yet we are weak in power to protect ourselves. We are building navies to prevent a recurrence of another Spanish fright. It is better to feel secure than to dread the possibility of disaster. Our army is small compared with the length and breadth of our territory, and while it may be an unnecessary expenditure of men and money in times of peace, and we may feel the taxation to maintain this protection, yet how much more would we feel its need in the hour of danger. Do not forget the destruction of the *Maine*. Such a disaster may occur again. We did not expect it, and we were not prepared to revenge the loss of the lives of those brave boys, but in the agony of the moment we declared war, and won. But we might not in the future have so easy an adversary. The God of Justice may not always be on our side, and we might make a mistake; but with a well-disciplined army and navy ready to obey the call of the

Executive, we can, at least, avoid the feeling of insecurity.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The war spirit is again abroad. Our able opponent seems to be the champion of the military—a large standing army ready at a moment's notice to plunge into strife. He declares for the sentiment of preparing for war in time of peace. Adopt that advice and we will be in a war fever all the time; possibly, by and by, when the fever is raging pretty strongly, we will rush into war and get more than we bargained for, when there is no need of it. Better educate our people in good fellowship rather than cultivate the too prevalent spirit of aggression. My friends, I want you to bear this one principle in mind: one person cannot quarrel alone. It requires two persons, or two nations, to declare war. The man who always minds his own business, who is civil in conduct, upright in dealings, and willing to do as he would be done by, is in no great danger of personal difficulties; but he who is touchy

in manner, and carries a pistol in his hip pocket, will sooner or later run against a snag. If a man wants to fight he will some time find his challenge accepted. War is the animal propensity of man made manifest. Preparation for war is in effect challenging the outside world, creating a suspicion in other nations that some undercurrent is at work, that those so preparing have secret designs, and that the peace of the world is threatened.

It is an absurd idea that this nation, or any nation, can equip an army of great strength and not be suspected of mercenary ends. Place one hundred thousand men in martial array near the Canadian border and England will ask, "What is that demonstration for?" Possibly she may ask us to move these forces into the interior, considering it an unfriendly act. Do the same with Mexico, and she will ask, "What do you want?" Create an army of one million men, and the combined forces of Europe will ask, "What do you mean?" We cannot organize a great military force without acquiring the spirit of aggression. It is human nature; man's disposition is warlike. It is bred in the bone for a thousand generations. There has been no time in the history

of nations when wars and rumors of wars have not been abroad. The history of the world is one constant warfare. Nations rise up in martial glory and then sink into decay. Napoleon conquered the continent of Europe, yet died a miserable prisoner on the island of St. Helena. Alexander the Great mourned because there were not other nations to conquer, but his government crumbled into nothingness. Since nations existed there has been one continuous succession of the rise and fall of military empires.

My opponent seeks to sustain his argument by reminding us of our weak position at the beginning of the Spanish war. I thank him for the suggestion, as it is an argument we would propose ourselves. It is true we had no army, but in an incredibly short time an army of volunteers was marching from every State and Territory in the Union to the rendezvous. It was a spontaneous outburst of patriotism, the North, South, East, and West responding to the call. It was a republic of the people calling for the people, and the generous response with both men and money astonished the whole world. The armed nations of Europe could not com-

prehend the fact that every man was a volunteer in citizen's clothes. As an illustration of this I will quote from a prominent English traveler who had spent several months in America. He said he had traveled in almost every State in the Union, but in all this time he did not see a soldier; "but," he said, "every man is a willing volunteer, ready at a moment's notice to march to the protection of his country." What a contrast between this sentiment and the conscription necessary in Europe! There the people live in a constant dread of an impending danger. Defenses are erected upon the frontiers, military camps are stationed in every direction, millions of men are required by law to serve in the army, taxation is almost beyond endurance, and there they stand, armed to the teeth, waiting for the development of some crisis that will precipitate war.

Are we to follow their example? By all means no! Do not educate your boys in the deadly art of war. The cry that we must be prepared for any emergency is the direct result of the brute instinct to slaughter. It is not the Christ-spirit of true Christianity. War is a deadly evil, which can and should be

averted. We plunged into the war with Spain in the spirit of revenge for the brave boys of the gallant *Maine* who were killed through the treachery of Cuba's oppressors. We swore a deep vengeance, not counting in lives and treasure the cost under the excitement of the moment. We were aroused to a pitch that would brook no compromise. Blood had been spilled, and blood must pay the penalty The latent spirit of revenge was aroused, and dollars could not appease the just wrath. But, my friends, there were those who hesitated in the declaration of war. They could foresee the awful strife. They counseled moderation, and asked that we curb our wrath and seek for the possibilities of a settlement without a recourse to arms. Blood for blood does not restore blood, nor does an eye for an eye restore sight; but the admonitions of those who would save life and treasure were not heeded. Yet, my friends, how much cheaper it would have been had we bought the claims of Spanish sovereignty! Could we have done this? Most assuredly we could. Spain offered to sell Cuba for a fraction of what our war with Spain has already cost us. Was it necessary

to wage war for humanity's sake? By no means. War is but an agent to satisfy national pride, or, as you may term it, national honor. What is "national honor" when we pit against it the lives of brave men, the tears and sorrow of widows and orphans, the desolated firesides, the maimed, the destroyed health of noble manhood, the wasted wealth, the bonded debt of a generation? All this and more do we bring in the wake of war. It has been said that any peace is more honorable than bloodshed.

You may ask what number of men I would suggest as a proper standing army. I would abolish the name army, and in its place establish a military police. I would seek to teach our people to resist all temptations to become hero worshipers. We love military glory. We love the soldier because he is a soldier, thinking only of the picturesque side —the pomp and glitter blinding us to the fact that in action this same strutting hero becomes a being stimulated only with the desire to kill and destroy. We thus become an easy prey to the demand for a large army Our vanity is flattered, and we see great glory in the name "world power" being

applied to us as a nation, and in our entry into the arena of the world's politics. It is something novel to us, we having remained secure on the Western Continent, having had no large standing army and needing none. But the dominating influence of all history is now to be considered. We want an extended empire, are not satisfied with the development of our land, wish to develop that of other people, and in this desire to stand as a great power we increase our army and our navy. Far better that we return to the peaceful occupations of our own beloved land, curtail the expenditure that is now wasted in the strife, and build for peace, not war. Build homes, not barracks; educate men, not soldiers; and, instead of fostering the curse of war, endeavor to establish the principle of the brotherhood of man.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: Our friend has dilated upon the proposed regeneration of men and nations. If the millennium were here we could disband our armies and

sink our navies, but unfortunately for this theory the millennium is not even in sight.

We are not discussing this question from an ideal, but from a practical, view point. It is a painful thought to consider the nations of the earth as armed for war and actually spoiling for a fight, but nevertheless it is a lamentable fact. It is true, as my friend said, that war is the manifestation of brute force. But what are you going to do about it? The condition exists, and as a natural consequence we cannot afford to ignore it. The law of self-defense is nature's law. All created beings are endowed with the right to resist aggression and protect themselves. By unforeseen events we have reached positions we little dreamed of holding, and the change that has come over our policy is not of our seeking. We became a "world power" through force of circumstances. Shall we give up this position, and say we are content with the old. While trade advances with leaps and bounds, shall we not encourage it and guard it well?

The question does not demand that we shall arm our citizens beyond reason, but asks if it is good policy to have a reserve

force, a force to rely upon in time of public need. It does not ask that we shall make the army a burden, as is done in Europe, but make it an auxiliary in the new order of things. My opponent exaggerates when he tries to make us believe that a standing army is a menace, for in fact it is the opposite. As an illustration, you meet a man carrying a heavy cane. Is the carrying of this cane an intimation that he may strike you over the head with it? No. But if he asks you a civil question you will respect the power of that cane, and answer him in a civil manner. You may talk about a perfect security among men, but I tell you there is no such thing, and there never will be, while human nature is constituted as it is. Darwin's theory of the "survival of the fittest" is true. In every thing that is created—both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms—each individual is arrayed against his neighbor. It is nature's warfare, and strength dominates in every sphere of life. The weakness of China is known to all nations, with the natural result of its harrying. And just as the strength of the American government is known, so it receives equally natural respect.

We cannot afford, in our unprecedented development of industries, to build our foundation on sand. The future is to be an industrial era. We have entered every mart on the face of the globe, and are competing in almost every line of merchandise. The balance of trade in our favor amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars annually. It is a great achievement, and our triumph demonstrates our strength of mind and the irresistible force of circumstances. This development will increase, and the arm of military protection should grow with it, and the attitude of other nations toward us is one of the reasons why we should enlarge our army beyond the strength necessary to enforce the laws at home simply. I might sum up the reasons for our contention as follows:

It is our duty to arm sufficiently to protect ourselves.

Such complete armament will prevent undue aggression of others.

It will inculcate patriotism.

It will be a guarantee of peace.

It will stimulate commerce.

It will give to us the proud feeling of strength, and in our intercourse with other nations we will feel that individual rights will be respected.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—In closing this debate let me call your attention to this one undisputed fact: No nation ever organized a large standing army at one time. It always commenced with the addition of just a little force beyond the needs of the country to enforce its laws. After the first increase there was no return to numbers actually necessary, but with each year the army grew in strength, until the military spirit dominated the whole structure of government. No despot ever reached his power in one bound. He always educated his people to militarism, and when he gathered his force was then so entrenched as to defy removal. The strength of a nation is not in the number of men under arms, or the number of vessels in its navy, but is in its enlightenment, its industrial achievements, and its Christian spirit. Industry and sobriety are the foundation stones of government. Destroy these and you invite the war spirit of the savage and the domination of aggression.

But, Mr. Chairman, the security of government is far more stable when the red flag of

adventure is brought to the dust. After the Civil War we disbanded our armies and neglected the vessels of our navy. We sought to repair the terrible ravages of war, raising the white flag of peace, and for thirty-three years—a third of a century—we labored for the promotion of our fellowmen. Finally, however, the storm-cloud burst above us, and as the slumbering spirit of military glory aroused our people to deeds of valor, we fell on our knees and worshiped Dewey, Hobson, Shafter, and Schley. We were intoxicated with our wonderful success. The battle of Manila Bay and the attempted escape of Cervera are reminders of a naval glory, and we, who but a short time ago would frown at the thought of raising our standing army from 25,000 to 100,000 men, now make it 200,000, and do not cavil at this unnecessary strength. Our judgment has become warped, and under the plea of protection and security from invasion, we sign the order to perpetuate the engines of death. Once place on the statute books the law permitting a standing army of 100,000 men, and it will never be repealed. The moment you go beyond the needs of a police force there will be no end

to further demands of like character. Those in the military profession, being usually unfit for civil life, will strive to cherish it, and use their influence to extend it, in the strife for promotion.

Let our strength lie in the willingness of our people to volunteer when danger threatens, and not establish an unnecessary and useless arm of service, saving the expenditure of these yearly millions to build homes for the poor. Far better that we expend $200,000,000 in irrigating the arid districts of the West than to spend it where not one dollar of revenue will be returned. This will insure peaceful employment, happy homes, and prosperous villages, while a standing army will mean a vast expense without any return, idleness, and a dislike for manual labor, and the spirit of aggression. It will mean military law is higher in authority than civil law. The dreams of a standing army are conquests; its power is overbearing and dictatorial; it is the tool of tyrants and despots, the enemy of peace, and the foe of all mankind.

III.

QUESTION.

Is a well-managed trust beneficial to the general public?

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—The question we propose to defend to-night is that trusts are not of necessity harmful, and particularly that there are trusts valuable to the general public, notwithstanding the extremists who would eradicate, root and branch, all trust combinations launched upon the world of commerce. Yes, there are good trusts, just the same as there are good societies. The existence of one bad man in society does not prove that society as a whole is bad. The fact that one member of a church is a hypocrite does not call for the charge that all members and all churches are the same. If one horse is vicious and will kick the carriage to pieces, that is no excuse for throwing the carriage away as useless. Kill the

horse if he cannot be trusted, and get a good one. Purify the church and society, but do not say all members thereof are frauds. The principles involved in church and society form the basis for enlightenment, for morality, and for brotherly love.

The object of a trust is two-fold; first, to prevent ruinous competition, and second, to reduce the cost of production. Now, is there anything wrong in this? Certainly not. No business can be run at a sacrifice. There must be a profit, an inducement for capital to invest, otherwise there would be no industries beyond those required to supply immediate wants. To reduce the price of a commodity is a laudable undertaking, and to do this we experiment, we invent machinery, we compound capital, and seek a systematic means of reducing the cost of the article produced.

A wheelwright cannot build one wagon as cheaply as an established manufacturer who is making thousands, and to manufacture thousands it requires the combination of skill, money, convenience, location, and market a for the wares when finished. With these elements in combination we have unconsciously

formed a trust. Whether we will manipulate this combination for the purpose of taking undue advantage remains to be seen. It is possible an attempt may be made to do this, but because it may be done is no proof that it will be done. Because one man is dishonest is no proof that we shall charge a crime to all men.

There is one fact we must acknowledge, and that is this: It requires a combination of capital to so systematize a business that we can reduce the cost of manufacture, and to reduce the cost of an article is a benefit to the consumer. Therefore if the formation of a trust reduces the cost of manufacture, it certainly becomes a benefit to the people. For instance: If a combination of wagon-makers reduces the cost of a wagon from $80 to $50, it means what? It means a benefit to every business using a wagon to the extent of the difference paid. Top carriages formerly sold for $250. Through skill and a combination of capital the same carriage can be had for $100.

Refined sugar formerly sold for 20, 15, and 10 cents per pound; it is now worth 6 cents. Kerosene oil formerly cost $1.50, 50 cents,

20 cents, 10 cents. The wholesale price is now about 6 cents per gallon. Steel bars, horseshoes, nails, and all structural iron has been reduced in price by a combination of capital. Passenger traffic is reduced from a charge of 10 cents per mile to 2 cents. Freight rates have decreased, thus benefiting the consumer as well as the producer. Clothing of all descriptions has decreased in price because of the achievements of machinery and its use by capital. We might go on through the whole list from farm machinery to a photograph, and find in every instance where a combination of capital, or a trust, has been formed, that it reduces the cost of the article manufactured.

But for these combinations there would have been no rapid march in our industrial victories. Railroads would not have spanned the continent, opening the wilderness to millions of home-seekers, building up cities and changing this land of ours from a tenth-rate country to the grandest, wealthiest, and greatest industrial nation of the earth. Is this not an evidence of benefits to accrue from a combination of capital? Was not this trust a good trust? But probably you

will say as time goes on that we shall feel the iron hand of the trust's oppression. Pretty hard name to apply to a system that has constantly reduced its cost mark. But grant for argument's sake that an effort will be made to restore the price of a wagon to $80, sugar to 20 cents, oil to 50 cents, passenger traffic to 10 cents, or any of the commercial products beyond a reasonable advance. If this were done three elements would raise a mighty force to combat it. First, the people would demand protection; second, new capital would begin to manufacture; third, legislation, by the demand of the people, would even compel a corporation so acting to go out of business or else to return to a normal profit. But you may say they cannot do this. My friends, the people can do anything. They can pass any law they choose. They can even repeal the Constitution of our government. Revolution, you may say. Exactly. We sprang from revolution, and if we wish to wipe out every vestige of law and begin anew, we can do it; and rest assured if the time ever comes when combinations or trusts seek to defraud the people, and demand exorbitant prices, the people will arise

with irresistible power, and in their wrath will compel obedience; or like France, in the dark days of her revolution, will wipe out of existence those who are their enemies.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—Ladies and Gentlemen: It is the opinion of your humble servant, and I believe you will bear me out in the statement, that if revolution is the inevitable outcome of a certain condition of affairs, it should be good policy to prohibit that condition. My worthy opponent practically admits that the condition of capital will eventually lead to such domination of products and utilities that extreme measures will be the only solution of the difficulties. In his argument he alludes to that last resort of man—revolution. It is true we were born into a government by a revolution, and we will go out of existence by the same force. Nothing is surer in this world than that this is a fact—not even taxes and death are surer. All nations and all history prove this assertion. Governments are instituted by revolution, and as time goes on legislation always favors

those who are the most aggressive in the accumulation of wealth. At first this favor toward wealth is slight. It has asked for but little, but this little is granted. First it is a charter, a franchise, a tariff, an exemption, a subsidy, or some form of concession that enables it to acquire power over the commercial interests of the people. It grows in strength until its influence becomes the dictator of government. It controls kingdoms and empires, and leads republics from the Declaration of Independence to submission to an autocratic force. The natural tendency of man is to command. It may be through the yielding of governmental authority, or possibly the control of certain conditions. The stronger we find that his mental faculties are over conditions around him, the stronger does he forge the chains of his authority.

We may think lightly of the first acquisition of power, and believe in the merits of a so-called good trust; but, my friends, if a good trust does not develop into a dominating and extortionate force, it will soon be merged into one that will. There is no such thing as a good trust any more than there is

a good wrong. The principle itself is wrong, its tendency being to destroy competition. It was organized for that purpose, and the trusts would be foolish indeed if they did not exercise their power to advantage. My friend dwells at some length upon the benefits to be derived from the trusts as they exist to-day. He would have you believe that our present industrial development could never have reached its present condition except by the introduction of trusts. I am amazed that anyone should have advanced such an argument. As well might you say we were living in an age of darkness until the trust came along and picked us up and made us what we are. You must admit with me that we were getting along tolerably well before we knew what a trust was.

The era of trusts began but a very few years ago. Previous to that time we were only preparing the way. We could see no harm in them, as they were to be established for the benefit of the people; but my! how fast they have grown. A million-dollar trust of then is overshadowed by a billion-dollar trust now, and the consolidation is growing so rapidly that it is only a matter of time

when the whole world will be dominated by one gigantic trust. A young rattlesnake may do no harm, but when his fangs have matured it is good policy to look out. You may fool with him once too often, and that once may mean your death. It is said the leopard makes a beautiful and intelligent pet, but its nature is full of treachery. A good trust may be harmless, and even a benefit, but wait until its fangs are matured or its spots are developed, and you may safely depend on its bleeding you at every turn. The fact is we have no need for trusts any more than we have for rattlesnakes and pet leopards. They all come under the same label—Handle carefully; do not trust them.

My friend would deduce from his argument the fact that trusts are of great benefit and are the means of developing immense industries, and having thus developed our nation are entitled to our admiration. In Ireland we find that one of the never-ending causes of social unrest is the system of landlordism. The people in common are not land-owners, but merely lease their holdings. It is practically a land trust, held by English lords. In France the great estates are broken up,

the land trust being no longer dominant. The laws force a division of real estate, and thus each family is entitled to some share in the land of France. Mark the result: the French people are prosperous, happy, and contented. The Irish people are restless and dissatisfied, and will never become willing subjects until the land trust and the aristocratic trust are broken up and the poor Irish farmer is given a chance in the struggle for existence. In this country we are fast coming to the point where there will be no competition in the industrial development of our resources. The small manufacturer will be crowded out. The public utilities are being controlled by corporations.

The coal trust is controlling the price of fire, while the trade in iron, steel, nails, and building material is no longer in the hands of the people. The laborer will soon have no chance to rise above his day's wage. The Lincolns of the future will have no opportunity, and will die in obscurity. There will be no more self-made men, for the present ones, having the bulk of the wealth through combinations, have riveted their strong chests and can defy competition. There will be

only two divisions of the people—the trust and the servant, the rich and the poor. The farmer will be a by-product, with no power to dictate what he will give, or what he will receive. The trust will fix prices both ways, and he will be powerless to prevent.

Now, my friends, these are the facts concerning the development of trusts. They commence with small beginnings, and by seeking to reduce the price are welcomed as a good thing to have in the national family. Then we call them good trusts; but when they commence to suck eggs, you had better kill them. They will catch your chickens next, after which they will tackle the best beef you have got, and so on just as long as you keep them. They are very hungry creatures, wanting to eat all of the time. If the beef is lean they will go into your pork barrel. It is gorge, gorge, gorge, all the time, and the more they gorge the bigger they grow, until finally there is nothing left for you.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: The gentleman who has just spoken marshaled

quite a menagerie to his assistance. The combination of rattlesnakes, leopards, English lords, hens' eggs, chickens, pork, and beef in describing trusts, needs only our colored brother's rabbit's foot to put into the shade the hell broth brewed by the witches in "Hamlet."

Just think, ladies and gentlemen, what an awful thing it would be if our worthy opponent should get one of those good trusts over which he is so frightened, and then let him get into a hen's nest. It would spoil him, sure. He could predict anything, from the confiscation of a business to a plunge into Hades. Now, my friends, that is about all there is to this calamity howl. It is only imagination. There are no facts or foundations on which to base such wild exaggerations. I defy any man on this continent to point to a single combination of capital, or if you prefer so to call it, a trust, that has not actually been a benefit to the people. Our friend mentions a billion-dollar combination as though it were a mediæval dragon ready to swallow everything, even to himself. Now suppose we do not get frightened and run away and tell our neighbors how we met the

terror of the earth, how he roared and bellowed and dug holes in the ground with his cloven feet, but stop and see what he is, what he is made of, and what he will do. To do this we must get at some facts. From reports it is evident we have a billion-dollar combination in iron, steel, coal, and transportation. The trust does not make any more out of the business than was made when it was owned by a dozen different concerns. But what does this terrible dragon do?

It has made stable the production of raw material.

It has prevented ruinous competition.

It has developed the most economical means of production.

It has extended trade in all its lines of manufacture.

It employs more labor.

It establishes uniformity of wages.

It prevents strikes.

Its profits are home profits, and do not go to enrich foreign capital.

It develops a thousand interests that make us independent of the whole world.

It is enabled to compete in every market and with every nation.

Instead of being an absorber of wealth, it builds extensions to its business, increases demand for its productions, sends our products further afield, gives value received to labor, to the farmer for supplies, to the

merchant for goods, and increases the general prosperity of the country.

Is this not a better and more truthful picture than our opponent drew? Now, my friends, if it does all the things I have enumerated, is it not indeed a good trust? Do you see the difference between my friend running away from his imaginary dragon and me staying and seeing what the thing really is? And what is true of this greatest of all combinations is true of others, and when you come down to real facts we find bad trusts almost as scarce as thousand-dollar bills.

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—Mr. Chairman: I believe this is the first instance on record where the devil was dressed up as an angel. It is said that this notable had stolen the livery of heaven and promenaded as a celestial being, but being detected was cast overboard. Here he sits in his billion-dollar robe, fiddling for the people to dance. He is not afraid of being detected as representing anything he is not. He does not pretend to be in the busi-

ness for his health; he is in it for profit, and big profits too. His Standard Oil stock is soaring around near four figures. Oil that is admitted to cost only 2 cents, transportation and all charges paid, is selling for 10 cents; lumber, $20; linseed oil, 75 cents; glass, 100 per cent. advance; rubber goods almost double; coal just where they choose to put it; steel products of all descriptions from 50 to 100 per cent. advance; with clothing, shoddy, and every trust product free from competition and protected by tariffs. The trust profit is an assured fact, and will follow us from the cradle to the grave.

Now, my friends, it is useless to repeat what has already been said. We have the trust,—the good trust and the bad one,—and no one can tell the difference. The good one is good until it becomes bad, and the bad one has been bad ever since it was good. It is a case of sweet cider to the Good Templar. No one can tell where the sweet ends and the sour commences, therefore the Good Templar says, "Eat the apple and make your own cider, and then there will be no mistake." If you want trusts to do your business, all right, you can have them; but if you don't want

them, what are you going to do about it? You have got them, and they have got you. It is an even exchange. They say, "Go out of business," and you go out. They say, "Work for me," and you work for them. They keep on fiddling and you keep on dancing. It is a case of jumping-jack—they pull the string, and you kick. Sometimes you kick in earnest, but it does no good. You surrendered your rights in granting privileges, and now help yourself, if you can. Talk of government intervention, and a howl goes up all over the land that it is a case of Populism, a wandering after strange gods, a repudiation of contracts, an assault against capital, fomentation of strife, and every misleading epithet that comes to the tongue. If our friends on the other side, who affect to believe that the trusts love their workmen more than the "dear public," let them read the history of a recent great strike, where the trust assured the men and the public that business conditions would not warrant the granting of the demands of their employees, and yet, when after many weeks of idleness the men lost, through their poverty and attacks of subsidized newspapers, it was found that the profits

for the fiscal year, closing shortly after the strike ended, required eight figures to enumerate.

Again, our opponent claims that the "billion-dollar" trust made no more in its business than when the various plants were owned by several—entirely ignoring the many who through combination into one business are without means of livelihood, with no salaries, and representing just so much purchasing power destroyed.

We might continue our argument and specify the operations of every trust in existence. In doing so we will find that they are all seeking the same goal, and that is the profit to be made out of the combination. The greater the profit the greater the desire to destroy every form of competition. The greater the profits the greater the bribes to corrupt legislation. A corporation that depends upon legislation for its existence will always be on guard, and will never be caught napping. Its lobby will be on hand when its interests are threatened. A power so great as that wielded by the monster trusts of today is far greater than the power of kings and princes, and, while human nature is con-

stituted as it is, is much too vast to trust to any living man or coterie of men. The dominating trait of greed so manifest in our country for the past few years is so prevalent that great wealth can readily find willing tools for any infamy—even to our country's undoing. I submit, Mr. Chairman, if we had advanced no other argument, that this point alone should give us the decision.

IV.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the world owes more to navigation than to railways.

Affirmative.

FIRST SPEAKER.—That the world owes more to navigation than to railways is evidenced from the following particulars:

I. Railways are of recent origin and figure only in the present.

II. Navigation is an institution of antiquity.

III. It has always been the medium of universal communication, of commerce, of discovery, of power, of ambition, of conquests, and of increasing the knowledge of the world.

IV. By it countries were brought into a union of sentiment, of exchange, of promotion of industries, of the stimulation of manufactures and trade.

V. It gave knowledge of the necessities of others, and created a desire to supply those necessities by production.

VI. It has been the great incentive to improvement, the means of extending Christianity, and of promoting art, science, and industry.

VII. By it the Old World became united with the New. The lost ambitions were renewed; new spurs to action set in motion, and the activity of the world revived.

VIII. But for this America would still be the home of the savage, and the wonders of invention would slumber in the lap of ignorance.

IX. It gave the navigator power over discovery and opened up the vast possibilities of the unknown.

X. It breathed the spirit of loyalty into man; a spirit which led to international rivalry on the ocean.

XI. It induced immigration and built the fires of hope in the breasts of those who sought "freedom to worship God."

XII. It gave homes to oppressed millions and raised the hopes of mankind.

XIII. It gave us the sturdy pilgrim of

Plymouth Rock, the thrifty Hollander of the Hudson and Mohawk, and the English patriot of Virginia and Carolina.

XIV. It gave us the researches of Hudson, of Balboa, of Ferdinando de Soto, of La Salle, of Hennepin, of Joliet and Marquette.

XV. It gave us Magellan and Captain Cook, and their historic navigation of the globe.

XVI. It founded New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and Boston.

XVII. It established Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, and San Francisco.

XVIII. It explored the country of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio.

XIX. It peopled the New World and established prosperity.

XX. It built industries and introduced the commerce of nations to the marts of the world.

XXI. It was the foundation of Egyptian greatness and the source of Roman and Grecian power.

XXII. It gave us the explorations of the Arctic and Antarctic seas, and the knowledge of the Nile, the Ganges, and Hudson's Bay.

XXIII. It has encircled the earth and

penetrated the vast network of seas, and lakes, and rivers.

XXIV. It has established knowledge, measured the strength of nations, instituted reforms, increased ambitions, alleviated distress, and wrought out the great problem of progress.

Negative.

SECOND SPEAKER.—I. The affirmative speaker appears to have appropriated the entire earth and all there is thereon. He extends his possessions into every industry and claims as his own all of art, science, and civilization.

II. He even claims Christianity as the result of navigation, and would build all that is good, refined, elevating, and patriotic upon his platform.

III. He is not satisfied with Egyptian and Roman greatness, but makes the grandeur of our own proud America move by the water-wheels of his powerful imagination.

IV. He aims at the establishment of a theory and would make its empire universal.

V. He discovers America and now takes credit for its resources and achievements.

VI. He located New York and San Francisco, and would claim for navigation the creation of their magnificence.

VII. He founded Chicago, and now imagines his discovery is greater than its immensity.

VIII. He landed the Pilgrims, and now appropriates the strength of New England.

IX. He cultivated the fields of the Mohawk and of the Hudson, and now declares their development to be the result of his labors.

X. He would assert the patriotism of old Virginia to be the offspring of navigation, and he would appropriate the great Mississippi Valley because our ancestors discovered these inland rivers and established trading posts.

XI. But, my friends, there is a difference between

Discovery and development;
Locating and building;
Sedateness and ambition.

XII. These particulars may be thus summarized: Discovery has been one of the chief incentives to navigation, while *development*

has been the great result of the introduction of the railroad.

XIII. The one may lay the foundation of a mighty future, but the other takes the discovery and realizes the greatness of its possibilities.

XIV. Navigation may locate the choicest harbors and establish trading posts, but the building up, the advancement, the prosperity, the development, the extending of internal commerce are due to the railroads of this or any country.

XV. Navigation has ever been the slow process which in its nature is sedate without ardor, while the iron horse inspires energy, ambition, life, and enterprise.

XVI. It breathes force into thought, promotes activity, and leads men to extend their enterprises beyond the walls of their own neighborhood.

XVII. The point is not what the world has been, but what the world is to-day, and what is the motive factor in the advancement of civilization.

XVIII. If the world stands still there are no benefits or improvements, and motive power is at zero.

XIX. Until the present century the progress of industry was commonplace, compared with the swift strides of to-day.

XX. Sixty-five years ago the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were a vast wilderness, scarcely holding an inhabitant beyond the reach of its ox teams.

XXI. Their civilization was confined to the established posts, which were located on some favored harbor or on the banks of a navigable stream.

XXII. Where was the Great West then?

XXIII. Where were Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and St. Paul?

XXIV. Where were Omaha, Kansas City, and Wichita?

XXV. Where were the wheat fields of Minnesota and the corn cribs of Illinois?

XXVI. Where were Cripple Creek, Leadville, and the great mines of Montana and Nevada?

XXVII. Where were the Union Pacific, the Southern and Northern Pacific railroads?

XXVIII. Where was the commerce of New York, Buffalo, and Detroit, when in 1833 the first railroad in the United States, from

Albany to Schenectady, was placed in successful operation?

XXIX. Talk of the contrast between navigation and railways, as compared with the value of each! The one starts a structure, while the other brings to it the products of a thousand miles.

XXX. The railroads annihilate distance and till the fertile fields of the Mississippi Valley.

XXXI. They distribute wood, lumber, and coal.

XXXII. They transport ore from the mines to the mills.

XXXIII. They join the Atlantic and Pacific, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico.

XXXIV. They form a network of values that reach billions of dollars.

XXXV. They produce values wherever the scream of their whistle is heard.

XXXVI. They bring into close connection the entire people.

XXXVII. They exchange commodities, open up the vast interiors, and bring prosperity to those portions of a country formerly dependent upon water for its transportation.

XXXVIII. In fact, without railroads, a

country lags behind in civilization and prosperity.

XXXIX. Navigation may have been sufficient in the times of the past, but now it is but a minor factor in the industries and development of a nation.

Affirmative.

THIRD SPEAKER.—I. Our opponents forget that all their lauded grandeur and prosperity were born of navigation.

II. It made possible the development of resources and the spreading of billion-dollar railroads.

III. The railroad is but the child of its father, navigation.

IV. To America our navigation has brought millions of people to establish our power, to cultivate our fields, and to labor in the various pursuits of life.

V. It carries our vast exports, upon which we depend for our exchange of trade.

VI. Remember this: the railroad is a modern invention, established on this Continent in 1833, and if you would measure its value to the entire world you must place these few years against the entire past.

VII. The question is not what may do the most business to-day, or in the future, but to which does the world owe most in its great transactions of the past.

VIII. Our United States is but a small factor in the area of the earth. Hundreds of millions of people have never seen a railroad, and yet they exist with as much satisfaction to themselves as do we.

IX. The railroad is not necessary to promote peace and happiness.

X. My friends are wrong when they eulogize the locomotive as an agent of civilization and prosperity.

XI. It is a production of civilization, not an agent in civilizing.

XII. We may go faster, breathe faster, live faster, speculate faster, owing to the rushing whir of the engine, but there is nothing gained by it in the development of art, science, or intelligence.

XIII. We may waste our energies in trying to compete with our neighbors in this present rush after the luxuries of life, but we cannot gain in the true happiness of our existence.

XIV. What is the world without happiness?

XV. We are speeding our lives away, and are trampled beneath the feet of desperation.

XVI. We spring up like a mushroom, but the noonday blaze of competition causes us to wither and decay.

XVII. It is a mad rush for gain, not for the development of that which is lofty, noble, and aspiring.

XVIII. Real development is that which creates a true system of thought and purpose; a purpose that is imbued with Christian forbearance, one with another; a purpose that leads to the study of the noble qualities of man, and not the baser instincts that disregard honesty of purpose.

XIX. Is this development the fruit of our present age of progress?

XX. Is the railroad a benefactor to mankind, or is it the stimulator of speculations, trusts, and combinations of wealth?

XXI. Has it spread contentment, peace, and happiness?

XXII. Are we reaping greater benefits from the faculties God has given us, or are we devoting our abilities to the accumulation of wealth?

Negative.

FOURTH SPEAKER.—I. We are not concerned with which can be spared more easily, but which is to-day the greater source of benefit.

II. We are not living in the past.

III. The past is our history.

IV. Navigation may have been the father of incentives to establishing commercial points and positions, but the father grows old and the child takes his place in the great battle of life.

V. What are our exports or imports, compared to the vastness of our inland commerce?

VI. China has lived for thousands of years within herself, and the world has scarcely known her, but with the advent of the railroad she opens up her interior to foreigners and we become neighbors.

VII. Europe formerly traded by caravans from its interior, but now note the change!

VIII. Africa is largely an unknown country, but the laying of the iron rails will cause it to be numbered in the columns of prosperity.

IX. In fifty years the world has made advances in agriculture, mining, manufactures, and commerce such as cannot be duplicated in the past.

X. Australia becomes a country full of resources and possibilities.

XI. South America has opened up unknown fields of power and wealth.

XII. Canada is a power within itself.

XIII. Our own proud Eagle holds dominion over the grandest development the world ever saw.

XIV. With the railroad there is no North, no South, no East, no West. It is a network of union, strong in its warp and woof, compact in its ties of devotion, and surrounded by the sentiments of the same ambitions, the same desires, and the same loyalty.

XV. The railroads are the great leveler of obstacles, the great uniter of forces, and the great means of annihilating distance and bringing the interior of a country into close connection with all other parts.

XVI. Destroy these public highways and we are lost in the most bewildering maze the world ever saw.

XVII. Navigation and the railway both are necessities, but the one far surpasses the other in importance.

V.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That the government should settle all disputes between capital and labor.

(Outlined for points only.)

Affirmative.

I. This is one of the greatest questions that now confronts the American people.

II. Organized capital is on one side and organized labor on the other.

III. While there should be perfect harmony between the two, yet in many instances there is such a depth of dissatisfaction that it may at any time burst into a disastrous commercial struggle.

IV. Commercial, because the effects produced by prominent labor troubles extend to general trade.

V. Owing to the ramifications of commercial life, a struggle between a great labor union and a great corporation unfavorably

affects all other businesses, and becomes national in scope.

VI. It should be the province of government to compel a settlement of any controversy that will bring disaster to innocent parties.

VII. The general public has the right of protection against unnecessary quarrels between capital and labor.

VIII. Laws should be passed making it an offense to call a strike, and an equal offense to lock the doors against those who desire to work.

IX. If labor is aggrieved and settlement is refused by the corporation, the labor organization should present its claims to the proper department of government, but work should not cease.

X. If capital is aggrieved and settlement is refused by the employees, it should present its claims to the same department of government, but no change in condition should be imposed while the case is pending.

XI. The case should be fairly presented, received, and acted upon, and the proper department of government should settle the dispute.

XII. The greater the combinations of wealth the greater the need for arbitration.

XIII. The greater the organizations of labor the greater the need for government intervention to prevent any disturbance of general business.

XIV. Labor is entitled to a fair compensation for each hour it is employed.

XV. Skilled labor must not be classed with unskilled.

XVI. Ability of the workman should be recognized.

XVII. The coal strikes of the past brought ruin to many innocent parties. Labor itself lost millions in wages, while settlements have not given satisfaction.

XVIII. The steel strikes have cost millions that might have been saved by government intervention, or by making the government the tribunal of arbitration.

XIX. As labor and capital will never agree, the solution of this question must rest with the government.

XX. Conditions that once obtained are unlike the conditions of to-day. What sufficed then will not now.

XXI. Formerly capital was scattered

among many manufacturers, and trade was based upon competition. If a laborer was not satisfied he could seek other departments, and no distress would ensue either to labor, capital, or the public.

XXII. Now business is in the hands of great combinations of capital, stifling competition, and labor is formed into great combinations of unions. Open rupture means a fight among giants, in which all the people of the country become interested.

XXIII. It is these changed relations between capital and labor that demand the enactment of such a law.

XXIV. The complete victory of one means a domination unfavorable to the general good. With this domination there would be a natural determination of the vanquished, when opportunity arrived, to precipitate a second conflict.

XXV. To prevent such an unfortunate state of affairs, and to establish peace and prosperity between the two great productive forces, is the right of society to demand.

XXVI. A prominent writer has said: "Do you want to prevent strikes and forever settle the difference between capital and

labor? If so, stand by the principle of arbitration enforced by government. Stand by the principle that all public questions, whether they relate to corporations, trusts, lockouts, or strikes, must be settled by a system of legislation in which the public, an innocent party, shall not suffer by unnecessary squeezes, quarrels, or dominations."

XXVII. A corporation, trust, or business should be held financially responsible for damages to labor caused by any lockout, or other measure accomplished contrary to such rules regarding strikes, lockouts, arbitration, etc., as the law may lay down; and likewise the labor union, or organization, should also be compelled to pay any losses caused by their breaking contracts or otherwise violating the government's rules.

Negative.

I. It is often an easy matter to construct an ideal system of business relations, but in actual practice we have to reckon with imperfect human nature.

II. This question is one of the misfits.

III. Nothing is easier than to say what

should be done when there is no opposition, but to restrain two contending forces and give satisfaction to both is another matter.

IV. This is exactly the situation of the question which the affirmative so finely outlines. They anticipate the arrival of the millennium.

V. They ignore the probable dissatisfaction arising from their decision. One would fancy from their theories that whatever decision was rendered it would be accepted with the greatest delight.

VI. Did you ever see a lawsuit settled so as to satisfy both contending parties?

VII. Government intervention is only another form of judge and jury.

VIII. If one man is right and another is wrong, no jury can decide halfway and give justice. If the decision is in favor of the man who is in the right, the man in the wrong will not believe in the justice of the decision.

IX. But will government always decide for the right?

X. Will labor be satisfied if the decision is for capital?

XI. Will capital be satisfied if the decision is for labor?

XII. What will be the result if capital is decided against? It will seek to control government and establish its demand.

XIII. What will be the result if labor is decided against? It will seek to control government and establish its own demands.

XIV. These are only natural consequences, and, government being in the hands of the majority, a change will sooner or later occur.

XV. The fight will be carried to government control, and the question will become political.

XVI. As the average politician is venal, there would come a time when arbitration would depend upon political control.

XVII. It would be unwise to enact any labor law compelling specific authority, for political changes would undo all, and the old fight would again come to the surface.

XVIII. On paper the theory is admirable; put the law into practice and unthought-of factors would render it impracticable.

XIX. The law of supply and demand is inflexible, and legislation cannot change it.

XX. If there is an unsupplied demand for labor the price goes up. If there is a surplus the price goes down.

XXI. It is impossible to establish or maintain prices by law.

XXII. While the producer may insist that corn should be worth forty cents per bushel, yet no legislation could fix it at that figure.

XXIII. We may believe that the price of a day's work should be two dollars. Yet it would be impossible to fix this as an arbitrary rate.

XXIV. So many factors enter into fixing the price of a commodity no legislature is able to say what that price should be.

XXV. We can legislate for the good of society, but we cannot legislate on supply and demand.

XXVI. Of the differences between capital and labor there is but one solution: They both depend upon each other. Without labor capital is useless, and without capital labor will have no reward, as their interests are mutual. One cannot afford to antagonize the other unnecessarily. Misunderstandings will arise, but they must be settled between the interested parties. If capital asks too much, the result will be its defeat. If labor's demands are onerous, it will make a losing fight. It is simply a case of supply and

demand. If labor sees its mistake, it will acknowledge the error. If capital is overbearing, it must recede. The whole question is but a family matter, which can be regulated in the family without the interference of meddling outsiders.

VI.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That a College Education is Necessary to a Successful Business Life.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. No one can acquire too much education; it furnishes a foundation for future activities.

II. The mind of the average young person is not mature enough for business at the age he would be attending college.

III. A college education gives poise and confidence; it inspires ambition and the determination to succeed.

IV. The study of languages imparts culture.

V. Sciences train the mind to reason and think.

VI. Athletics train the body and awaken a spirit of fair play.

VII. The traditions of a college teach patriotism and loyalty.

VIII. The training and association make the student a better judge of men and conditions.

IX. The association with others of a higher social standing and with his instructors is of inestimable value to the student.

X. Business associates have more respect for a college graduate.

XI. More is expected of him and experience has shown that the college graduate usually lives up to those expectations.

XII. There are now plenty of opportunities for any ambitious student to pay his way through college.

Negative.

I. Colleges are not democratic.

II. They are too expensive for the purses of many young people.

III. They do not teach the seriousness of life.

IV. They give the graduate nothing he can capitalize.

V. Business associates do not value his degree.

VI. The student wastes years in the study of useless topics which he might devote to learning the elements of business.

VII. College students devote too much time to social affairs.

VIII. Modern colleges give too much time to sports and to languages, higher mathematics, and scientific studies which will immediately be forgotten.

IX. These subjects are not useful unless the student is preparing for some profession.

X. He will enjoy many of these subjects more by reading them later in life.

VII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That All Labor Disputes Should Be Submitted to a Board Having Compulsory Powers.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. There have been over 20,000 strikes in the United States in the last twenty years and they are growing more frequent.

II. Strikes stop the operation of railroads, industries, and allied businesses.

III. Our food and coal supply is dependent upon the railroads.

IV. Labor suffers through strikes more than it gains by concessions.

V. Strikes result in loss of time to laborers, loss of property to employers, and great inconveniences and financial loss to the general public.

VI. The United States should protect the rights of all its people.

VII. The rights of labor and capital end where the rights of the public begin.

VIII. All other matters are settled by court decisions or boards of arbitrations.

IX. All persons must surrender some liberties for the good of society.

X. Voluntary arbitration boards lack power to enforce their decisions.

XI. Compulsory arbitration is a success in New Zealand and other countries.

XII. Such a system would stabilize industry.

XIII. It would not compel a man to work, but would prevent strikes.

XIV. People could make contracts with some certainty of fulfillment.

XV. Cold reason renders a better decision than inflamed force.

XVI. Industrial peace promotes prosperity.

XVII. The decisions could easily be enforced; the property of the employer could be confiscated or the particular union dissolved.

XVIII. Strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and blacklists are costly and disastrous to the public.

Negative.

I. Capital and labor are both opposed to compulsory arbitration.

II. Labor would not submit to compulsion.

III. If adopted the system would drive capital to more friendly countries.

IV. Economists do not favor it.

V. It is only an experiment.

VI. It has failed in Australia and Canada.

VII. New Zealand is small and noted for its freak laws.

VIII. An unsatisfactory settlement would not be final; the trouble would only smoulder, and would eventually break out again.

IX. Compulsory arbitration would be unjust to both employer and labor because it would destroy freedom.

X. It would discourage ambitious workers.

XI. Voluntary arbitration is real arbitration.

XII. Voluntary arbitration boards are the most capable because they understand the disputed questions.

XIII. Mutual understanding is the secret of peaceful settlements.

XIV. The number of strikes in the United States has decreased during recent years.

XV. Conferences are now held between capital and labor, and all possible agreements reached.

VIII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That Laws Establishing a Minimum Wage Should Be Enacted in the United States.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. The minimum wage represents a much needed reform.

II. It is being successfully used in Australia, New Zealand, and Great Britain.

III. Every normal laborer is entitled to a living wage.

IV. The present day wages are unjust in many instances.

V. The minimum wage would apply only to normal workers; subnormal workers would receive appropriate pay.

VI. It would lessen poverty and decrease the need for charity.

VII. It would render unnecessary the labor of women who are needed in the homes.

VIII. It would eliminate child labor.

IX. It would have an uplifting moral effect.

X. It would be just to the employer because a living wage results in better service.

XI. It would not be unjust to skilled labor, because skilled labor needs no protection.

XII. Non-union workers would receive higher wages.

Negative.

I. Wages must be based on the economic law of supply and demand.

II. All industrious workers are now able to earn a living wage.

III. Poverty is largely due to causes other than low wages.

IV. Wages are the result of contract and bargaining and are not a matter for government regulation.

V. The tendency of the times seems to be for over-legislation.

VI. The minimum wage makes no provision for the subnormal workers who are really the ones who suffer.

VII. There is no way of accurately determining who are subnormal workers.

VIII. The minimum wage would throw the subnormal workers out of employment.

IX. It would lower the standard of efficiency.

X. It would increase the number of unemployed.

XI. It would be dangerous in times of business depression.

XII. The tendency would be to reduce all wages.

IX.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That Secret Fraternities Should Not Be Permitted in High Schools.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. Fraternities and sororities are undemocratic.

II. They create jealousy and strife.

III. They divert the attention of pupils from school work.

IV. They encourage extravagance in dress.

V. They lead to bad habits and dissipation.

VI. They tend to discourage the attendance of poor children.

VII. Experience has shown that they are detrimental to a school.

VIII. High school pupils are too immature for such organizations.

IX. The members devote too much time to social affairs to the neglect of their studies.

X. There is sufficient social life outside of the school.

XI. The members feel themselves superior to other students.

Negative.

I. Students having similar tastes, points of view, and social environment are naturally drawn together.

II. Prohibiting fraternities will not prevent this tendency.

III. Fraternities can be made very helpful and beneficial.

IV. They do not interfere with school work because meetings are not held during school hours.

V. It is a scholastic honor to belong to some fraternities.

VI. Members acquire a knowledge of organization and self-government.

VII. Fraternities develop the social side, which is an important phase of school life.

VIII. Parents and teachers can watch over them as they do over the other activities of students.

IX. To prohibit fraternities infringes on the rights and liberties of students.

X. Pupils so inclined will do wrong—not because of fraternities but in spite of them.

XI. Students who are not invited to join one fraternity have the privilege of forming another.

X.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That Motion Pictures are Detrimental to the Public.

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. Motion Pictures are a means of education.

II. They give glimpses of places which the average person can never hope to see.

III. They are being used in schools, churches, and homes.

IV. They preserve great historical events.

V. They furnish enjoyments for those who cannot afford more expensive entertainments.

VI. They afford an innocent place for young people to meet.

VII. They give pleasure to millions of people.

VIII. They prevent loneliness, relieve weariness, and lighten the burden of care.

IX. They furnish employment to thousands.

X. They are a source of great profit at a small price to the patrons.

XI. We cannot let the evil in the lives of others wreck our enjoyments.

Negative.

I. Motion pictures consume valuable time.

II. They are injurious to the eyes.

III. They are detrimental to the morals.

IV. The poorly ventilated theatres are injurious to the health.

V. Motion pictures give a false idea of life.

VI. They lead to crime and dissipation.

VII. They teach children things they should not know.

VIII. They destroy the artistic taste, the desire for reading and for music.

IX. They create extravagance.

X. They encourage the dreams of romantic girls and blood-thirsty boys.

XI. There is much scandal in the lives of the actors.

XI.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That Foreign Languages Should Not Be Taught in High Schools

(*Outlined for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. The study of foreign languages has a broadening effect.

II. It is a bond between the United States and foreign countries.

III. It is excellent mental discipline.

IV. It makes traveling easier and pleasanter.

V. It creates a desire for further knowledge.

VI. It is a good business asset.

VII. It imparts culture and gives social prestige.

VIII. It opens new literary fields.

IX. It furnishes a foundation for college work.

X. It stimulates the desire for travel.

XI. It gives the student a better knowledge of other countries and people.

Negative.

I. The study of foreign languages is un-American.

II. The time should be devoted to more important fundamentals of education.

III. Few people are thoroughly acquainted with the English language and English literature.

IV. Any foreign language cannot be learned well enough by the average high school student to be of social or commercial value.

V. The English language is sufficient in most foreign countries.

VI. Only one or two languages could be studied, while dozens are spoken in Europe.

VII. One must live in a foreign country in order to acquire the correct pronunciation.

VIII. The study of mathematics is better mental discipline.

IX. Business principles are far more necessary.

X. History, the sciences, literature, and the arts are more refining and broadening.

XI. The desire for travel generally depends upon the state of one's finances.

XII.

QUESTION.

Resolved, That a Vehicle Tax Should Be Established for the Support of Public Highways.

(*Outlines for Points Only.*)

Affirmative.

I. This is one of the most important questions of the day.

II. Highways must now be systematically constructed and receive constant attention.

III. Their care can no longer be left to localities, but must be under state control.

IV. The cost of their construction and upkeep is enormous.

V. The general tax burden is too heavy for small property owners.

VI. This is the day of automobiles and heavy trucks, which quickly destroy roads.

VII. It is not just to tax all property owners for the upkeep of the highways; some may use them but little.

VIII. A vehicle tax would be just because it would be graduated to the weight of the automobile or truck.

IX. The small vehicle of the poor man would pay the lowest tax.

X. Large touring cars and revenue-producing trucks would pay the highest tax.

XI. Many thousands of such vehicles are manufactured annually.

XII. Under the present system one man may own several vehicles, another only one, yet both pay the same road tax.

XIII. A vehicle tax would not be a burden on those who could afford to own a car or truck, but collectively would produce a large revenue.

XIV. It could not be evaded and would be easy to collect.

Negative.

I. The maintenance of highways is one of the general expenses of government like the operation of the postal system.

II. One man may receive thousands of letters, another practically none, yet the latter may pay more taxes toward the support of the government.

III. People who have no children pay a school tax.

IV. Every one is taxed for the support of charitable and penal institutions.

V. Good roads are a great benefit to the entire country.

VI. They furnish quicker and better transportation.

VII. They give pleasure to practically every one.

VIII. Nearly every person uses the roads, even though he does not own an automobile.

IX. A person riding on even a government-owned railroad pays for the privilege; a railroad could not be maintained through a general tax.

X. The automobile and truck owner already pays a license.

XI. The addition of the road tax to the general tax is not excessive.

XII. The people have an opportunity to vote on the bond issues for new roads. If they do not approve of the issue, they can refuse to sanction it.

XIII. Many people cannot afford a vehicle tax.

THE SPEAKER

In a recent issue of the Wisconsin Library Bulletin this series is recommended as a standard source for platform material and is characterized as "probably holding first place in the list of *never to be superseded stand-bys.*' The series comprises *eight volumes,* as follows:

VOLUME I
Popular Short Stories
Selections Chosen for Declamation Contests
Selections for Children to Recite
Cuttings from Stories

VOLUME II
Cuttings from Stories
Ten Short Plays
Readings, and Four Plays
Briefs for Debates, and Readings

VOLUME III
Cuttings from Popular Stories
Modern American Oratory
Dramatic and Humorous Readings
Centennial Number

VOLUME IV
New Platform Selections
Selections for Religious Occasions
Encores: Nearly 200 Fresh, Bright Hits
Popular Platform Readings

VOLUME V
Humorous and Dramatic Readings
Monologues
On Temperance
For Declamation Contests

VOLUME VI
After-Dinner Speaking
School and College Readings
Selections for Entertainments
Dramatic Selections

VOLUME VI
Popular Prose and Poetry
Readings from Great Authors
Readings and Debates not Found Elsewhere
Classic Masterpieces

VOLUME VIII
Best Fiction for the Platform
Humorous and Pathetic Readings
Patriotic Selections
Scenes from Plays for Platform Readings

A complete Index arranged by authors and titles will be sent on request.

Both Sides of 100 Public Questions Briefly Debated

BY

EDWIN DuBOIS SHURTER AND CARL CLEVELAND TAYLOR

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

This volume is intended as a handbook for debaters and for all those interested in literary or debating societies. The one hundred questions for debate are all on present-day subjects and, for the most part, have been tried out by the authors in class work. Under each question are given the main lines of argument, affirmative and negative. These arguments are stated in distinct, concise propositions (usually four each) which cover the issues in the question and which, if proved, will establish the case on one side or the other, the detailed proof of each proposition being left to the individual debater to work out. The arguments on each side are followed by references, selected for the definite purpose of substantiating the proposition as stated.

The following are a few of the questions discussed:

Are Labor Organizations Beneficial?
Equal Suffrage
Retention of the Philippines
Government Ownership of Railroads
National Railway Arbitration Board
Employers' Liability for Accident
An International Arbitration Court
Abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine
Disarmament of Nations
Restriction of Foreign Immigration
The Annexation of Mexico
Federal Control of Natural Resources
Free Trade for the United States
Child Labor
Socialism and the Labor Problem
Maintenance of an Increased Navy
Commission Plan of City Government
Fortification of Panama Canal

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

126 019

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY